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Dedicated to my Teacher Professor Max Vasmer on his 70th-Birthday.

THE SOUTH-SIBERIAN TURKIC LANGUAGES, II NOTES ON THE SAMOJED SUBSTRATUM¹

by

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The final Turkification of the Jenisejan and South-Samojed groups in Southern Siberia probably entered its most intense phase during the middle of the nineteenth century, at a time when the Russification of Siberian languages also began. Some Turkified South-Samojed languages have already undergone Russification and this process will doubtlessly continue during the present century. Furthermore, both the Siberian Turks and the Tungus are subject to Mongol influences: form the Buṛat West of Bajkał and the Xaḷxa in Taḡnū-Tuva.

Thus the degree of deviation of Jakut and South-Siberian Turkic from Common Turkic clearly reflects a movement from the Altaj region (in the wider sense of the term) in a northeasterly direction. This movement took place in two stages, extending to the North as far as the Nordenskjöld Sea and the tundras of the Byrranga region. Indeed, it is precisely in these most northerly regions that we find the greatest linguistic deviations, whereas Ojrat which had remained behind in the Altaj still remains the closest affiliate of Common Turkic, together with Group I.

The Turkification of the South-Samojed peoples began in the eighteenth century and can be followed by consulting the glossaries compiled by travellers of the periods in question. These glossaries have been collected into one handy volume by Kai Donner in *MSFOu*, LXIV (1932).

Aside from the Turkic words *jont*, *junt* "horse" (which is an old loan in all Samojed languages, cf. Paasonen, "Beiträge zur finno-

¹ For the English version of this article I am indebted to Dr. Robert P. Austerlitz.

ugrisch-samojedischen Lautgeschichte", *KSz*, 1911/14, pp. 90, 269), *jüz* "100" (> > Samojed *jur*, *jūr*) and the word for "bread" (which appears in some Samojed languages [via Finno-Ugric?]) and which is traceable to Persian نان *nān*), we already find the Turkic numeral *toɣuz* "nine" in Messerschmidt's diaries from the years 1721-3 (fully quoted by Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, pp. 160ff.) and in Strahlenberg's *Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia* (1730) (cf. Kai Donner, *op. cit.*, pp. 8ff.). Messerschmidt's brief Kamaš (16) list also contains the word *nedžim* "friend" < < Mongol *najdži* "friend" which found its way into Kamaš through Turkic mediation (cf. Qojbał [Castrén] *nandē*, Qojbał Kondak. *najdē*. The final -m is the possessive suffix of the first person singular). Pallas' glossaries (Samojed, Kojbal, Motor, Karaɣas), first published in 1776, also contain the entry *toɣuz* and, in addition, also an entry for "God", viz. Kojb. *Xudaj* (< < Persian خدای), Motor *Burkan* (< Mongol < Ujɣur *burqan*, *burxan* < < Skt. *budd'a*), Karaɣas *Tere* (? pro *tārā*, cf. Castrén Karaɣas *têre* "Himmel") < Sib.-Tkc. *täŋärä* = Tkc., Mongol *täŋri* "heaven, God", Karaɣas *Têre* also has the meaning "heaven" alongside the old Samojed *num* "heaven" which, in turn, can also mean "God" and which may well be an old contamination of a Samojed term *num* "(what is) above" (Toivonen) and Turkic (Ujɣ.) *nom* (< Soɣd. < Gk. νόμος) "law, religious injunction". Cf. Motor *Orgoxajraxan* (perhaps < Sib.-Tkc. *örgö* "above" + *qajraqqan*, *qajyrqan*, Sib.-Tkc., Mongol "blessed, saint") and Karaɣas *ottok* "yurta" which < Altaj-Tkc. *otay* (Turkic and Mongol, cf. Joki, *Die Lehnwörter des Sajansamojedischen*, *MSFOu*, 103, p. 249; Räsänen, *Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen*, p. 160; in Tungus, the word is a loan from Mongolian. Titov, *Тунгусско-русский словарь*, p. 124, considers it a loan from Soɣdian, *ʾwt'k*, in which case we must assume that it is a loan of extremely great age in Altaic. The word is a loan also in Jenisejan: Kott (17) Castrén *atax* "Zelt"). In his Kamaš list, Pallas also records Turkic *toɣuz* "nine". In the same source we also find a few words from the language of the "Kyštym Tatars", a group which at that time still spoke a Jenisejan language. Among these we find *oth* "Feuer" < Turkic *öt* "id." There is a Kott word *hat* "fire" which may well be connected with the Kyštym word. Cf. also Chinese 火 *huò*, 火 *hò* "fire", Ancient-Chinese *xuā* < Archaic Chinese *xwār* (Karlgrén, *Grammata Serica*, No. 353, p. 215; *Analyt. Dict.*, Nr. 117, p. 65).

Klaproth's much richer materials on the Motor and Kojbal languages show the Turkic influence much more clearly; cf. the respective sections in *Fundgruben des Orients*, V, pp. 62-67 (Wien, 1816) — in Donner's collection, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-23; and in *Asia Polyglotta* (Paris, 1823), pp. 155-59 — in Donner's collection, pp. 31-35. Cf. also the tables in Klaproth's *Sprachatlas* (Paris, 1823), Nos. VII-XI — in Donner's collection, pp. 36-50.

We are here already confronted with groups of words from the domain of cattle-breeding and from a rudimentary stage of agriculture, in addition to social terms designating family and tribal affiliations. E.g., sheep, ox, cow (or is Motor *ude* = Alt.-Tkc. *ud* "ox" originally cognate; or a very old loan?), swine, horse (a very old loan from Turkic), camel, calf, stallion, chicken; hare; bridle; dung; bread, milk, butter, salt; scythe, hatchet, club (an old loan, cf. Menges, "Zwei alt-mesopotamische Lehnwörter im Altajischen", *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, XXV, pp. 299ff.), stake (pole); tinder, sewing needle; oar, raft; tobacco; gold, silver, tin (stannium), money. Social organization: king, commander, judge, law-court, priest, city, village, bridge. Other: clay, swamp, mud; sea, wave; pocket (< Tkc. < Slavic? < < Arabic); noon; beard; good, drunken, green/blue, yellow; all. Numerals: nine, fifty, hundred. There are almost no verbs in this group of words. Though the individual words listed here deserve a special study, I cannot discuss them in greater detail at this time. Many of them are included by Joki, *op. cit.*, *MSFOu*, 103.

The other glossaries are of no interest to us since they deal with Samojed languages which stand in a much looser relation to Altaic or which have had no contact at all with Altaic during the last historical period.

Already Klaproth notes Motor *kodan*, Kojbal *kosan* (pro *kozan* or *qozan*) "hare" which is a Turkic loan, cf. Soj. *godan*, Qzył (Joki) *xōzan*, Ojr., Qy. *qojon*, Qq. *qojan*, Qn. *qujan*, Türkmen *qojān*, i.e., Proto-Turkic **qodān*; cf. also Joki, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-98 (though I do not consider Bang's explanation [*Ungarische Jahrbücher*, V, p. 243] "Gebärende" as impossible; it is, of course, possible, that the word is not a Common-Turkic animal-name, as Joki also agrees). We thus see that while Motor was under a strong Karaḡas and Sojōḡ influence, Qojbał was under Abaqan ("Xaqas") influence. Indeed, Qojbał is now a sub-member of the Abaqan group while Motor has disappeared, i.e., it has been absorbed by Karaḡas or by Russian,

or by both. According to Pallas, *Voyages* . . . , VI, p. 270 (French edition, Second Year of the Republic), Motor-Samojed was most closely related to Sojot-Samojed.

A wealth of information concerning the names of Samojeds and the names of Samojed tribes is contained in Peter Hajdú's study, *JSFOu*, LIV, 1, pp. 1-112 (1948-50).

NOTES

1. OJROT (< *ojra-t*, with labial attraction; a Mongol plural) "the allies". They received the tribal name from the (Eastern) Qalmyq to whose short-lived empire (from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century) they once belonged. They are said to number about 48,000 now.

According to Dyrenkova, *Gramm. ojrotsk. jaz.*, Introduction, p. 11, the TELEUT (= Tälänät or T. kiži) and the Telengit (= Tälänit or Tölös) are two different Ojrot peoples. The Teleut are said to live in the Northwest of the Ojrot AO, but mostly in the bordering areas, along the Great and the Small Bačat and Čumyš; the Telengit live in the extreme Southeast of the Altaj, toward the Mongolian frontier, along the rivers Čuj, Arqyt, Čułyšman, and along the lower course of the Bašqaus. We are of course dealing with one and the same tribal name which originally designated a Mongolian tribe and which is well known from Mongolian and Ojrat history. (Saγaγ Secen mentions the form *Tejlengüt*, plur. Cf. I. Ja. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen* . . . [StPtbg., 1829], pp. 155, 373.) What is of importance for us in this case is that this tribal name in all probability was taken over by two Altaj-Turkic groups during the time of the Ojrat hegemony. One of these groups (to-day's South-eastern group) bears, in addition to this, the name Tölös which is the Mongol (or Mongolized?) form of the Orxon-Turkic Töliš.

In part I, I erroneously raised this as well as the other national districts to the status of an ASSR, that of Tañnū-Tuva which joined the Soviet-Union in 1944, not in 1947, even to that of a SSR. In spite of this, they have remained, so far, plain AO, i.e. Autonomous Districts.

2. ŠOR-KI-ŽI "the Sleigh-Men". Cf. Joki, *Die Lehnwörter des Sajan-samojedischen*, *MSFOu*, 103, p. 295. Castrén: Qač. šör, Qb. Sałb. šor "Arbeits-, Lastschlitten", WB Mator šor "Schlitten"; Castr. Qb. Kondak sör, sor, Sa., Qb. sör, Qzyzł (Joki) sör and diminutive

sōrax 'id.'. Otherwise unknown in Turkic. The most closely related forms appear in Jenisejan: Kott. (Klaproth, Castrén) *čogár*, *čugar*, *cukár*; Assan (Klaproth, Fischer) *čogár*, *čegar*. These Jenisejan forms which seem to be disparate could possibly be loans from Siberian Turkic from a period when the *č*- > *š*-, *s*- change had not taken place and the sequences *VγV/VgV* had not yet contracted. The Kottian form *čukár* suggests a geminated variant **čuqqar* (by the side of **čuyar*, **čoγar*). In Kamassian we have *šōr* and *šor* which are rather recent loans from Siberian Turkic. The same applies to Ostak-Samojed *sour* 'id.', as Joki also assumes. But one must take issue with Joki on his assumption that the Jakut forms prove that the Jenisejan forms are not native, cf. Jakut Boehtlingk *syrya*, Pekarskij *sȳrya*, *syarya*, *sārya*. These are loans from Mongolian, apparently borrowed more than once and at more than one period; cf. Literary Mong. *čirya*, *čarya* (Kovalevskij), Buřat (Castrén) *šaraga*, *šarga*, Sel. *čarga* "Schlitten", cf. Qalm. *čiryūl*, *čirgūl* "eine Art Schlitten" from *čir*- "die Erde entlang schleppen, ziehen; nachziehen" (Ramstedt, p. 442). Cf. also the following form with its divergent meaning: Ordos (Mostaert) *č'irya* "longue corde servant à puiser au moyen d'une grande outre faite de la peau d'une chèvre l'eau de puits très profonds; puits très profond" (*Textes oraux ordos*, p. 753). From Jakut the word wandered into Tungus: Evenki *sirga* "dog-sleigh, reindeer-sleigh", Lamut (Western dialects) *hērga* "sleigh". The Mandžu form *šerxe* "dog-drawn sleigh" entered the language through Bargu-Buřat (?) or Evenki mediation, the originally Tungus word being Evenki *tolgokī* from *tolgo*- "to ride a sleigh", Lamut *turkī*, *torkī*. Without doubt, Ev. *tolgo*- and Lamut *turkī*, *torkī* are related with Old-Mong. *tälägän* (Jüan-Č'ao-βi-Šy) and common-Mong. *tärgä(n)* "cart, carriage", of which the former has been borrowed by Slavic: O.-Russ. *теле́ка, тѣка*, etc. (Cf. Menges, *The Oriental Elements . . . in the Igor'-Tale*, p. 50ff., and in *Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, p. 385 ff.)

The South-Siberian Turkic and Jenisejan forms on the one hand and the Mongol (and thus also the Jakut and Tungus) forms on the other are in all probability cognate and exhibit metathesis in medial position, though it is not impossible to assume that the word was borrowed from one group into the other. For geographical and ethnological reasons we might well assume that the loan entered the Mongolian group from the South-Siberian-Jenisejan group. — Hajdú, *ibid.*, p. 64, mentions the Jurak-Samojed tribe of the Čör,

located at the edge of the bay of the river Taz. Unfortunately we lack further details about this group, but we might hazard the assumption that this tribal name is connected with the Jenisejan word for sleigh, *čogar*, etc., for the name is inexplicable as coming from within the Samojed group and seems to be completely isolated.

3. The name XAKAS, pronounced *xaqas* and *xaxas* (cf. Joki, *op. cit.*, p. 259, s. v. Saɣaj), has been generally known only since the foundation of the *Xakas AO*, when it was also used to designate officially the peoples of the Abaqan group. I do not know who is responsible for the choice of this name; what is certain is that it is a bad choice, since it clearly refers to one of the manifold Chinese transcriptions of tribal names. In this case the tribe meant is that of the *Qyrqyz* (*Qyrqyz*) who once — before their Turkification in the eighth and ninth centuries — occupied a large part of the Minusinsk Region. It is assumed that the *Qyrqyz* were Jenisejans at that time, or that they were Samojedized Jenisejans, unless we succeed in assigning them to some other ethnico-linguistic complex (perhaps Skythoid, rather than palaeo-Asiatic), a procedure which is not unlike replacing one unknown by another unknown.

The most important Chinese designations are 鬲昆 *Go-K'un* (Sě-Ma C'jän [$< k'v'k-kw'ən < \text{Archaic Chinese } *g'liek-kw'ən]$) and 堅昆 *Gjän-K'un* ($< k'ien-kw'ən < \text{Arch. Ch. id.}$) "a Northern People", found in the Ban-Ĝu biography of the Han-Šu. In the T'aŋ-Šu we also find 結骨 *Gjä-Ĝu* (chapter 217b)¹ $< \text{Anc. Ch. } k'iet-kw'ət < \text{Arch. Ch. } k'iet-kw'ət$, Cantonese *Kit-Kwat*. For the first component we find in Giles, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, No. 1470: Cantonese *kyt*, Hakka *ket*, Korean *kjöl*, Japanese *keccu*, *kiccu*, Annamite *kjet*, *kêt*. We see thus that the final consonant *-t* is present. This dental which is represented in Japanese as well as in Annamite was, at certain periods and in certain languages (cf. *Ujgur*, *Korean*), represented by a liquid. Another designation is 紇骨 *Ho-Ĝu* $< \gamma'uat-kw'ət$ (cf. Giles No. 3986: Cant. *hêt*, Kor. *hyl*, Japan. *keccu*, *koccu*, Annam. *hout*; rhymes with 月 *jüät*, Japan. *geccu* "moon" $< *ŋ'wat$ [Karlgren, *Grammata Serica*, No. 306]). A more clear form is 紇圻斯 *Ho-Ĝu-*

¹ This chapter has been translated into Russian by Father Iakinf (Bičurin) in his *Собрание сведений о народах обитавших в Средней Азии в Древние времена* (reprinted in Moscow, 1950), I, pp. 350ff. While his notes are repeatedly criticized by the editors, they have in general not been brought up to date. — It is easily possible that the form *Xakas*, *Xaqas* was based on Iakinf's transcription, q. v.

$Sz\bar{o} < \gamma u\bar{a}t-xi\bar{a}t-si\bar{e}$ and similarly, with palatalization 黠戛斯 $\acute{S}ja-\acute{G}ja-Sz\bar{o} < \gamma a\bar{t}-k\bar{u}t-si\bar{e}$. In the Ljao-Šy we find their name as represented by 轄戛斯 $\acute{S}ja-\acute{G}ja-Sz\bar{o} < \gamma u\bar{t}-k\bar{u}t-si\bar{e}$ (cf. Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society*, I: *Liao*, 907-1125, pp. 105f.). The last two Chinese transcriptions given here, i.e., chronologically the most recent, are the prototype for the reconstructed forms *xakas*, *xaqas*, etc. These two transcriptions, as indeed the transcriptions found in the literature in general, are made on the basis of comparatively recent pronunciations (after the fourteenth century) which reveal very little about the older Chinese pronunciation, be it the pronunciation after the Cjā-Jūn of the year 601 or that of the T'ang Dynasty. The palatalization of some of the Chinese forms, as we have seen them above, is the result of a development within Chinese, as Pelliot has shown in the case of the word 厘罕 *šja-han*, used as a transcription of the title *qayan* (T'oung-Pao, 1944, p. 85, n. 4; Menges, *Oriental Elements in the Old-Russian Igor' Tale*, p. 9, n. 17). This Chinese palatalization occurred around the fourteenth century or after, so that the form $\acute{S}ja-\acute{G}ja-Sz\bar{o}$ does not necessarily reflect an Altaic palatal (front-vowel) form. Hirth ("Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk", p. 43, in Radloff's *Altürkische Inschriften der Mongolei*, II. Folge [StPtbG, 1899]) considers the older Forms $\acute{G}j\bar{a}-\acute{G}u$, Cant. *Kit-Kwat* renditions of the name Qyrqyz. In Qyrqyz, Pelliot sees a "plural" (the term "COLLECTIVE" would be preferable) of a form **qyrqun* ($\acute{G}j\bar{a}n-K'un$) (*J. As.*, 1920, p. 137) whereas Ligeti sees in it a plural of *qyrq* "40" (*Körösi-Csoma-Archivum*, I [1925], p. 15), a hypothesis which is improbable.

But the above-mentioned Qyrqyz and the Qyrqyz of the Orxon inscriptions are *not* the predecessors of the present-day South-Siberian Turkic peoples, so that the designation *Xaqas*, as applied to to-day's Turkic peoples in Southern Siberia, is misleading and false.

Joki (*op. cit.*, pp. 34ff.) has made an interesting attempt to find an etymology of the designation *Xaqas* by dividing it into **paq* + *az*. In **paq* he sees the Jenisejan tribal appellative *Pök* (Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 169) by means of which the Assan designate the Turks and the Kottians and the Jenisej Kojbals designate the Qyrqyz, "the old masters of those regions". Joki then identifies *az* with the Jenisejan *ethnikon* which appears in the Orxon inscriptions as *Az* and which probably refers to the Assan. Furthermore, he connects *Pök*, **pak* with Chinese **b'ak* > > *bo* (*ba*j, *ba*) "white" (Karlgren, *Grammata Serica*, No. 782 a-c) which he com-

pares to Jenisejan *bayat* "Greis" and *bayam* "Greisin" (< **baqat*, **baqam*). Thus, Joki and Räsänen plausibly explain **Paqas* as deriving from **Paq* + *Az* "white (blond, etc.) *Az*". But the question why original initial **p*- became *x*- (incontiguous assimilation or assimilation by anticipation? ?) is thus no nearer to a solution. (It is true that Chinese 白 **b'ak* has the reflexes *paku* as well as *haku* in Japanese [for examples, cf. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica*, No. 685, and for parallels, Nos. 687, 689, 690, 692-695, 703, 705/6, 708, 711, 714, 724, 738, 743], but this dual representation only reflects a Japanese initial alternation between *p*- and *h*- in loans from Chinese, the Japanese representation by *h*- being regular. The problem thus remains open). There is, however, another explanation possible, namely, by tracing Turkic *āq* "white" back to a Proto-Altaic form **pāq*. Such an original form may well be expected to have a regular reflex **haq* and **xaq* in certain Turkic and Mongol languages. But Joki's explanation rests on the assumption that **paq* is Jenisejan, and as such perhaps originally related to Chinese **b'ak*, so that the change **p*- > *x*- still remains unexplained. Räsänen, on the other hand, explains the element *hak*-, *xak*- in *Xaqas* as deriving from Turkic *āq* < **hāq* < **pāq*, according to a theory advanced by me (in *Archiv Orientalní*, XI, p. 19), in which I consider the possibility of a common origin of Turkic *āq* and Chinese **b'ak*; he explains the second element by identifying it with the *Az* of the Orxon inscriptions (see above). Räsänen thus considers the *Karayas* as **qara* + *Az* (where the -*γ*- fills the hiatus), i.e., "Black *Az*" as opposed to the "Blond *Az*", the original *Qyrqyz*. Cf. Räsänen "Contributions au classement des langues turques", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, XVII (Kowalski Memorial vol.), pp. 103ff. — See below, s. v. *Qyrqyz*, No. 13.

4. According to Joki, *op. cit.*, p. 259, *SAγAJ* is from Turkic, but he gives no etymology. There are no parallels.

5. *Qojbal*: cf. Joki, *op. cit.*, p. 187; Hajdú, *JSFOu*, LIV, 1, p. 90. The *Qojbal* call themselves *Tuba*. It is impossible to say whether the name *Tuba* was originally a tribal name or a name for the river. It was already known to the Chinese. It is true that names of bodies of water are exceptionally resilient and therefore often very old. The *Qojbal* may possibly have been Samojedized Jenisejans at some earlier date. See below, s. v. *Tuba*.

6. *QAc(A)*, cf. Joki, *op. cit.*, p. 171-3; Hajdú, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-97. As Joki has also remarked, phonetic reasons prevent us from con-

necting Tk. *Qaš*, *Qāš*, etc. with the Common-Samojed **kššš* "Mann, Mensch"¹. We find this element as the second part of compounds, as, e.g., in the name *Karayas* (< **Qara-Qāš*, which, however, is not the name by which the *Karayas* call themselves, as is attested by the final -s). Joki's connection of *Qāš* with 高車 *Gao-Č'ě* (< **káu-č'ja* "high carriages") which, according to him, occurs in Chinese sources after the third century A. D., is also highly improbable, since the latter is certainly a Chinese calque or even a purely Chinese descriptive designation of an Altaic — Hunnic or Turkic — nomadic tribe (which, in my opinion, has its Altaic pendant in the name **Qalimağ* > Old-Russian *колимогъ* and in the later name of the *Qalmyq* < **Qalimağ* > > *Qalm. Xal'maq*. Cf. *Ztschr. für Slav. Philol.*, XXIII, 2, p. 327 ff.). High carriages are definitely out of place in Siberia. Likewise, I cannot subscribe to Räsänen's supposition (quoted by Joki, *ibid.*) to the effect that the old name *Az* appears as the second element in the name *Karayas*, since I am more inclined to see *Qāš* in this same second element. (See above, s. v. *Xaqas*, No. 3.)

It is another question whether this name — which may well be considered as old in those regions — is not a variant of the form *gja-ša*, *ka-ša* 'iron' 迦沙, for an older form **kaša* or **gaša*, which appears in the T'aŋ-šu, chapter 217b, and which is known to have existed in the language of the *Qyrqyz*. Since this word is unknown to the Turkic languages we may assume that it was either part of the *Qyrqyz* vocabulary as an original word, or as a loan, in any case before the Turkification of the *Qyrqyz*. This fact could then be brought into relation with the old metal culture (bronze as well as iron) of the Minusinsk area which was the habitat of the *Qyrqyz*, or of a considerable part of the *Qyrqyz*, before they attacked the Orxon state in 840. The word also appears in the form 曷 朮 *ho-čžu* or *ho-šu* in the language of the *Qytan*, as *kueš* in *Ostak-Samojed* and as *kuose*, *kuese* in the other *Samojed* languages, as *xasō*, *q'asō* in the archaic language of the *Dahurs* (cf. Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 150 [and note 12]; further, Ligeti, "Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise", *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hungar.*, I, 1 [1950], pp. 141 ff., especially pp. 150 ff. and the review

¹ The various forms for Tk. *kīši*, etc. have been falsely transcribed by Hajdú from Klaproth, Castrén, and Radloff's *WB* (pp. 95–6); the form *kās* (Osman-Turkish) as given by Klaproth is the Persian *kās* کس "person; someone".

thereof by K. H. Menges in *Artibus Asiae*, XV, 4, pp. 372 ff.). Such an old word for "iron" could indeed be native to the Minusinsk region and perhaps even identical with the name of the river *Qās*, *Kača* (Russ.), possibly for mineralogical reasons, although the river is situated about 400 km North of Minusinsk, at Krasnojarsk¹. We have thus arrived at another comparison, namely: is not the name of the River Selengá, Orxon-Tkc. *Sälängä* — in a similar way — reminiscent of the Mandžu-Tungus word for "iron", viz., Mandžu *sele*, Evenki *sêlê*, Lamut *sêl*, *hêl*? For it is now known that the Selengá/Sälängä is very rich in minerals and, what is more, that the bottom of the Bajkal's central basin has a considerable iron content (cf. S. P. Suslov, *Физическая география СССР* [1947], pp. 290, 292). Furthermore, within the territory occupied by Evenki-Tungus speaking groups, there is a river *Sêlêngê* which is an affluent of the Čuňa. The Čuňa is an affluent of the Stony Tunguska, at 61° North-ern lat., 98°–100° Eastern longitude (cf. G. M. Vasilevič, *Эвенкийско-русский диалектологический словарь*, p. 180). This river name is a direct derivative of Evenki and Common-Tungus *sêlê*, *sele* "iron", with the suffix *-ngä/-ngê* which has a wide semantic range. Cf. also Mandžu *selekten* "reddish muddy water" (< **sele-k-ten*?), i.e., "reddish" because of its iron content. — Cf. below, s. v. *Karayas*.

7. QYZYĻ is the common Turkic word for "red". It may, in the case of this tribal name, have originally been a nickname, suggesting perhaps hair color, or color of furs, as, e.g., Teleut "das sommerliche Rehfell" (cf. German "Rotwild"). The QyzyĻ call themselves *XyzyĻ-Kizi*, cf. Joki, *Studia Orientalia Soc. Or. Fenn.*, XIX, 1 (1954), p. 12. In the appendix of the *Хакасско-русский словарь* by Baskakov and Inkižekova-GrekuĻ, p. 365, we are given *Xyžyl-Kiži* as the self-appellation of the QyzyĻ. The *-ž-* in *Xyžyl* must be the result of local, independent development, for there are no reasons to assume a *ž* (< *š*, *č*). The phonology of the QyzyĻ "dialect" as reported by the two above-mentioned authors of the dictionary differs considerably from that presented by Joki in his glossary, e.g., the *Xakassko-russk. slovar'* uses the letter *ш* for the old final *-č*, alongside of *-č*; but *ш* is also used for old *-š*; old intervocalic *-š-* is always *-ž-*; though there is an initial change *j* > *š*, as Joki also

¹ Mentioned by Hajdú, p. 95; not to be confused with the *Kas* or *Kača*, mentioned *ibid.*, p. 94. The latter is an affluent of the Jenisej, joining it from the left (coming from the Southwest) at the village of Serebrennikova, at 60° North latitude.

attests, this change does not always take place, and old *j*- may be preserved — these special cases are not touched on above. Suffice it to say that Qyzył occupies an area where a number of diverse phonological currents meet.

Cases of such an “unjustified” *š* are also met with in the Sałbin dialect of Qojbał, as recorded by Castrén: *küş* < *küz* < < **güz* “autumn”, which thus coincides with *küş* < *küč* < **gũč* “burden”, *tyltyš* “star” < *jyldyz*.

8. TUBA, *Tuva*, *Tufa*, *Tuma*, *Tyba* (cf. also Joki, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.; Hajdú, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff., 99 f.) is used to designate tribes by almost all South-Siberian Turks, some of whom use or used it to designate themselves, e.g., the Qojbał, Motor, Karayas, and Sojoŋ. Castrén (*Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, II, pp. 321 f.) and Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*, I, pp. 190, 212 f.) are probably right in assuming that Tuba, etc. was one of the old names — or perhaps the old name — of the South-Samojed tribe which originally inhabited the Jenisej Region, in the broader sense of the term. The name is identical with the name *Đu-ḥo* found in Chinese sources, namely in the Suē-Šu, the annals of the Suē-Dynasty, 581–618 (chapter 84; cf. Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 40). The T'aŋ-Šu contains more information about the *Đu-ḥo* (chapter 217) as well as about the Qyrqyz: the *Đu-ḥo* live to the East of the Qyrqyz, South of the Šjao-Ḥaj (“Little Sea”, i.e., Lake Bajkał) and North of the Ujγurs. We interpret this to mean that they lived principally in the area of the Eastern Sajan Mountain Range and on the lower course of the Selengá/Säläjä. What the T'aŋ-Šu tells us of their customs completely corresponds to what, in general, we could assert about the South Siberian peoples of more recent times, inclusive of the custom to bury the dead on trees or high in the mountains. The *Đu-ḥo* paid their first state visit to China together with the Ğu-li-ğan (i.e., the [Üč] Quryqan of the Orxon inscriptions) during the year 647. The two syllables constituting the Chinese designation *Đu-ḥo* had no final consonants (Cf. Hirth, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f., and Ligeti, *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 174 f., n. 23.). — Some tribes speaking Turkic languages which also call themselves *Tuva* live in the Mongolian People's Republic, East of the Kossogol (Xöbsögöl-Đaľaj) and West of the Xara-Usu. It has not been possible to classify these languages as yet, since we do not dispose over linguistic materials in the respective languages.

9. Sojoŋ, cf. Joki, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 f., Hajdú, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f. The name is certainly connected with that of the Sajan Mountains

which, in all probability, is pre-Altaic. The derivation of Sojoŋ from the name of a Sojoŋ chieftain, Sojt, is a popular etymology, as is the derivation of Qojbał from the name of the chieftain Kojbal. — Some Turkic-speaking groups which belong to the seven banners of the Mongol Uraŋxaj and which are sometimes designated as Sojoŋ or Sojot are also unknown linguistically and probably subject to intensive Mongolization. The Mongol Uraŋxaj belong to the Čiŋ Setxiltü Ajmaq in Dzungaria and being nomads, occupy the area from the Altaŋ as far as the Tarbaŋataj, the latter seemingly being their preferred habitat.

10. KARAŲAS, cf. Joki, *op. cit.*, p. 163, Karakaš, and pp. 171 ff. s. v. Kāš; Hajdú, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff.; cf. also the remarks above, s. v. Qač(a). During the time of Katanov the KaraŲas consisted of the following five tribes: *Kāš*, *SaryŲ Kāš* ("Yellow K."), *Čoydu*, *Kara Joydu* ("Black J. [or Č.]") and *Čäptäŋ* (cf. also *Proben*, IX, pp. 619 ff. No. 40). They called themselves *Tuba* or *Tuba ulus* (*ibid.*, pp. 617 ff.) In all probability, *KaraŲas* is to be analysed as **Qara-Qāš* (< *Qāč*), where *Qāš*, *Qāč* is doubtlessly the same name as that of the *Qāč*, *Qāš* or *качинцы* (see above, s. v. Qač[a]).

11. МОТОР; cf. Joki, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 f.; Hajdú, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 91, 92 f.

12. ТАЈГІ; cf. Hajdú, *op. cit.*, p. 93. This name is not to be confused with that of the TAVGY-Samojed in the extreme North (Tajmyr and Byrranga area). The name is probably < Siberian-Turkic *tajŲa*, *tajŲa* (Radloff often writes *tajŲŲa*, with a geminate following the diphthong) "gebirgiger Wald, Gebirge, Hochgebirge" > Russian таѣра, which in general designates the Siberian forest and not only the wooded mountain range and has become a generally accepted geographical technical term. The word is probably pre-Altaic.

13. The oldest, historically recognizable seat of the QYRQYZ (QYRŲYZ) was the Minusinsk and Sajan Region; this is the same region where we later find the Samojed-speaking Tuva peoples who became Turkified only some time later. There they lived even during the Empires of the Eastern TŲrkŲt and of the early UjŲurs, whose centres lay in the Orxon area. In 840 the Qyrqyz conquer the UjŲur empire and, as a result, a large part of the Turkic population of the Orxon area wanders off, the majority toward the Southwest, into the Northern oasis-zone of the Tarym Basin. The Qyrqyz must have remained in control of the Orxon area until the beginning of

the tenth century (924), until they were driven away when the Qyṭaṅ (of the Orxon inscriptions, i.e., the K'ī-ḡan or Ljao of the Chinese sources) became the masters of Eastern Central Asia. The Persian work of the year 982 Ḥudūd al-'Ālam (ed. Minorsky; p. 96, 282ff.) describes the Qyrǵyz as good warriors and hunters and as competent sheep-, cattle- and horse-breeders. Rubruck came upon them North of the city of Qara-Qorum and describes them as being shepherds without cities (see Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, pp. 105f.). The majority of the Qyrǵyz seems to have retreated to the highlands of the T'jān-Šan, Ałaj and Pamir, after the expansion of the Qyṭaṅ empire and the campaigns of Čingis-Qaγan, where it still lives to-day, but a certain number of Qyrǵyz hordes must certainly still have inhabited the Western slopes of the Altaj or the mountains themselves at the time of the Russian conquest of Siberia. Being caught in the stream of migrations, these Qyrǵyz, too, joined their brethren in the Southwest.

The anthropologically heterogeneous, non-Altaic origin of the Qyrǵyz is conspicuous through their BLONDNESS and the accompanying characteristics such as fair skin and blue (green) eyes, as these are attested in Chinese and Islamic sources. Traces of such blondness and of an anthropological type rare in Northern Asia which has right-fully been called americanoid can still be observed in the population of the Minusinsk area, as I have myself had occasion to observe. The occurrence and the origin of blond peoples in Central and Northern Asia is a great riddle. It is easily possible that the Qomans (Qumans) also belonged to this old, blond, fair-skinned and blue-eyed group originally, as the names given them by the Armenians, Slavs and Germanic peoples attest, respectively *խարթեփ* *xartēšk'*, Половцы and *Valwen* "Blond" (cf. Menges, *Oriental Elements . . . in the Iğor Tale*, pp. 9ff.). Cf. also above, s. v. Xakas.

14. KĀM is the oldest Chinese and otherwise oldest known name of the Jenisej. In Chinese it is represented by 劍, Modern Ch. *Ġjān*, Cant. *Kīm*. The character appears as early as the Čžou-Šu, chapter 50, in a legend concerning the origin of the Turks (cf. Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 42). *Kām* also appears in the Orxon inscriptions. In the South-Siberian Turkic languages it appears as the appellative "(large) river".

15. The fact that the Siberian Turkic peoples refer to themselves repeatedly as -KİŽI ("people") may well derive from a Samojed model. In Samojed compound tribal names whose second element

is an appellative with the meaning "man, inhabitant" are common, viz., *hāsaba*, *dēr*, *gum*, *kuza*, etc. (cf. Hajdú, *op. cit.*, pp. 102ff.). The Jenisejans also employ this mode of designation (cf. *ibid.*, p. 101) which can in no case be regarded as originally Turkic.

16. KAMAŠ (Kamassian); cf. Joki, *op. cit.*, pp. 25ff.; Hajdú, *op. cit.*, pp. 86ff. The genuinely Samojed form of the name is *Kaŋmāž̄o-Kuza*. Whether the name *Kaŋmāž̄o* is host to the names of the rivers Kan and Mana, as Hajdú seems to think, is open to question, especially in regard to Mana. It would be useful to know, in this case, the Kamaš designations of these two rivers. The name Mana may perhaps be related to the Samojed-Kojbal word *meanlaj* "Fluß" (Klaproth). — Let it be noted in passing that the variant *Kalmašenil* as noted by Castrén and Sjögren is reminiscent of an Evenki-Tungus plural formation in vowel + *l*.

17. KOTT; cf. Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 169; Joki, *op. cit.*, pp. 185f. (with further literature). The Kotts have been considered as extinct after the second half of the nineteenth century. They are a Jenisejan group, closely related to or even identical with the Assan (who are possibly the Az of the Orxon inscriptions) and also related to the Arin. They lived along the river Agul which is a right affluent of the Kan and were therefore called агульские татары by the Russians. Thus, they inhabited an area ca. 800 km to the South and Southeast of the Jenisej-Ostaks (own designation: *Ket*) who, still in the third decade of this century, lived along the middle course of the Jenisej. According to Castrén, the Kotts called themselves *Kōtu*, plur. *Kōtuan* (> Kamaš. *K'odo*, *Xodòg*). *Kōtu* and *Ket* are not to be separated and seem to be cognate. I cannot share Joki's opinion that the various forms of the name are of Altaic origin. Joki connects the name with a Eurasian word which far exceeds the boundaries of Altaic: *qotan*, *xoton* "fence, enclosure, stable, yard, house, city wall, city", cf. Ajnu *kotan* "village", Korean *kot* "place, site", Jenisej-Ostak *qotë* "Grube zum Übernachten". To this many examples from Finno-Ugric, Indo-European (Skt. *kōṭa*, *kuṭi* — old loans from Drāvida; as well as Westphalian *Kotten* "Gutshof") and Drāvida could be added. The facts therefore do not offer any grounds for such an assumption.

18. THE CHANGE OF INITIAL J->DŽ- is common to many languages. In Indo-European it is a regular change in Romance and Iranian. In Altaic it occurs in Mongol and much later in Turkic, where it is characteristic for most languages in the Northwestern group: it is

regular in Qazaq-Qaraqalpaq, in the Qypčaq dialects of Özbek, in Qaračaj-Bałqar, in the Southern dialects of Qazan-Tkc., in Central Noγaj and in Aq-Noγaj (while Qara-Noγaj has *j-*). The phenomenon thus extends from the Ponto-Caspian steppes to the western spurs of the Altaj, in a broad strip. But in the Altaj and East of it, we note a special development: the *j-* is first "strengthened" by a dental clusile support which may be voiced or voiceless and thus appears as *dʹ-* or *tʹ-* which in turn may become *dž-* or *č-*. But since some languages do not tolerate affrication, the clusile element is lost and some languages emerge with *š-* (Šor, Qyzył); further, the hushing quality of the sibilant may be lost as in Jakut, where we have *s-*.

An analogous process took place in South-Samojed, in Ostak, as well as in the languages of the Sajon which later became Turkified, viz., (Uralic,) Proto-Samojed, Common-Samojed initial *j-* > *tʹ-*, *č-*, (and *k-* [the alternation *tʹ:k* has a parallel in Turkic in the case of the South-Karaïm dialects of Hałycz]), e.g., Suomi *joki* "river", Jurak-Sam. *jaxà*, Jenisej-Sam. *joha*, Kamaš *tāya*, *dāya*, Motor *čaga*, Tajgi *čaga*; Jurak-Sam. *jēn* "Hanf, Bogensehne", Tavgy *jenti*, Jenis.-Sam. *jéddi*, Ostak *čend*, *tind*, *kend*; or in the above-mentioned Tkc. loanword for "horse", Jurak *jünnä*, Tavgy *junta*, Jenis. *juda*, *dʹjüda*, Ost. *čönd*, *t'ünd*, *könd*, Kamaš *inä* (delabialised, from **jünnä*), Motor *numdo*, Tajgi *nüündä*. The last example shows the assimilation by anticipation which affects initial *j-* if further in the word a liquid other than *l* or *r* follows, as it is typical of South-Siberian Turkic. Cf. a further Samojed parallel for this phenomenon: Jurak *jāmp* "long", Jenis. *jabu*, Ost. *čumb*, *tumb*, Kamaš *numu*, Kojbal *numo*, Motor *nambo* (these examples are taken from Hajdú, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-2). The incontinuous assimilation of *j-* > *n-*, *ñ-* occurs, according to Paasonen, *op. cit.*, in all Samojed languages, but is especially typical of South-Samojed.

It can be safely assumed that the development of *j-* in the South-Siberian Turkic languages was conditioned by a Samojed substratum. As concerns Samojed, this special development seems to be typically South-Siberian also in the case of Samojed itself and, indeed, has the earmarks of deriving from some kind of substratum, so that we may be inclined to ascribe the phenomenon to a palaeo-South-Siberian language or language group (Qyrqyz and Jenisejan, or Qyrqyz-Jenisejan).

A NOTE ON KASHMĪR AND THE MONGOLS

by

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The history of Kashmīr during the Mongol epoch has up till now been given an attention which, to say the least, was one-sided and consequently inadequate. All the histories of this country, whether of occidental or oriental origin, including the most recent,¹ are based as far as the Mongol era is concerned almost exclusively on Jonarāja, the continuer of Kalhaṇa's great chronicle "*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*", on the period between 1150 and 1420.² According to Jonarāja and the other Kashmīrian and Indian historiographers, the Mongols do not appear ever to have had any influence on the history of Kashmīr, and in fact our author does not even mention their name. In point of fact, however, the Mongols not only repeatedly invaded Kashmīr, but they even succeeded temporarily in subjugating the country and in appointing the kings. Evidence of this is to be found in a few passages of Rashīd al-Dīn's great historical compilation, and more particularly in the pertinent section of the "*History of Kashmīr*" which, as we have elsewhere mentioned, is in fact the work of the erudite Kashmīrian hermit Kamalashrī.³

¹ Cf. Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, a *Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*. Trans. with an introduction, commentary and appendices by M. A. Stein, 2 vols., Westminster 1900, I, p. 130; H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta 1931, pp. 175-79, and the literature quoted therein; G. M. D. Sufi, *Kashīr, being a History of Kashmīr, from the earliest times to our own*, 2 vols., Lahore 1949, I, pp. 66-67. For the various sources on the history of Kashmīr available only in MS., cf. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature, a Bibliographical Survey*, London 1939, Section II, fasc. 3, p. 678 et seq., and Vol. I, part 2, London 1953, pp. 1325-26.

² Cf. The Rājāvalī to 1412 A.D. by Jona Rāja, in: *The Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī, a History of Kashmīr*, Calcutta 1835, pp. 282-285; H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, I, p. 111.

³ For an account of the person and the work of Kamalashrī, see the Introduction to my edition of the "*History of India*" by Rashīd al-Dīn, to be

The information on contemporary kings given by Kamalashrī in that work is limited, with one single exception, to an enumeration of their names, and these were already known from Jonarāja. The one concession, however, is made in favour of "the king" under whose rule the fate of Kashmīr was decided. For the passage in question, despite its brevity and partial inaccuracy, serves to illuminate in sufficient degree the history of the country during this and the following decennia. It deals with the government of King Rāmadeva, during whose reign — so we are told by Kamalashrī — at the order of Uguday-Qa'ān a great Mongol army, led by Ukutu Noyōn,⁴ appeared before the capital of Kashmīr⁵ and besieged and eventually conquered it. Rāmadeva fled before the Mongols on his black mare and escaped from his pursuers by a daring jump on his horse across the broad Black River.⁶ After this the Mongols plundered the town continuously for six months. Then they retreated, after having appointed a governor there whom Kamalashrī does not mention by name. It was not until seven years later that Rāmadeva succeeded in expelling the governor and returning to power himself. At the time of Mangu Qa'ān — so our author goes on to tell us — another Mongol army invaded the country under the leadership of Sāli Noyōn and Takūdār.⁷ Kashmīr was again plundered, the chief inhabitants of the town were killed,

published shortly; and my article: 'An Indian Legend on the Descent of the Mongols', in the forthcoming Jan Rypka anniversary volume. As regards the text, which deals with the shortly subsequent exportations, I may refer to my edition which, in addition to the original Persian version, will also contain the partially enlarged and more accurate Arabic translation of the same. The latter is taken from the MS. R.A.S. A 27, cf. C.A. Storey, *op. cit.*, II, 1, p. 75.

⁴ According to the Arabic version اوکوتو; the Persian version gives an obviously corrupted form کتور.

⁵ Viz. Śrinagar.

⁶ By the name "Black River", very common among the Mongols, it is possible that a tributary of the Jehlam (Vitastā River), known as the Kṣiptikā, is meant. This formed a natural defence line for the part of the town lying on the left bank of the river; Kalhaṇa mentions this stream frequently when describing sieges which took place at his time. Cf. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*, Stein, II, pp. 417-18.

⁷ This Takudār is probably identical with the Transoxanian prince of the same name, well-known from Ilkhan history on account of his revolts. He is also often called Nikūdār and was the brother of Burāq. Cf. B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Leipzig 1939, pp. 69 et seq.

and the rest of the men carried away into slavery with their wives and children. Hereupon followed the death of King Rāmadeva, about which Kamalashrī relates no details. His brother Lakshmadeva (= Lakṣmaṇadeva 1273–1286)⁸ was appointed king, though at the decree of Mangu Qa'ān and Hulagu-Khān. The successors of Lakshmadeva, his son Samadeva (= Siṃhadeva)⁹ and Sūhadeva,¹⁰ during whose reign Kamalashrī completed his chronicle (A.H. 705 = 1305/6),¹¹ are mentioned by him without further comment.

A closer examination of Kamalashrī's account leads us to the conclusion that a number of errors and confusions have crept in. These however can generally be set aright without much difficulty by means of other material at our disposal. Especially is such correction necessary in the account of the person and reign of King Rāmadeva, under whom — according to Kamalashrī — the Mongols twice conquered and subjugated the country. For the detailed information given in Jonarāja's work and the other Kashmirian sources enables us to assume that these events may have taken place during the reign not of *one* king but of a least two, viz. Rājadeva (1212/13–1235) and *Rāmadeva*, also called Rājadeva (1252–1273).¹² So it would appear that Kamalashrī, perhaps misled by the resemblance or identity of the names, has included the reigns of two — or, as we shall see, perhaps even of three — kings

⁸ Arabic version: لکش مه دیو, Persian version: اکشمه دیو. Cf. Jona Rāja, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

⁹ Arabic version: شه مه دیو, Persian version: شهه دیو. Cf. Jona Rāja, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

¹⁰ Arabic version: شهه دیو, Persian version: شوهه دیو. Cf. Jona Rāja, *op. cit.*, pp. 283–85.

¹¹ Shortly afterwards A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306/7), as is mentioned in several sources the invasion — according to M. Longworth Dames a Tatar one — of Kashmir under Ǧhu 'l-Ǧadr (Jona Rāja: Ǧalaca; in the Persian sources: Zulū, Zulḥū) took place. After plundering and devastating the country the army is said to have perished in the snow on the return march northwards. Cf. M. Longworth Dames, art. 'Kashmīr', in *EJ*, II, Leiden-Leipzig 1927; H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 178–79; G. M. D. Sufi, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 67–68. In my opinion there can be no question of a Mongol invasion here; the event appears to me on the contrary to prove that by that time Mongolian influence had come to an end, which would make of Kashmir a welcome prey for the neighbouring states.

¹² Cf. Jona Rāja, *op. cit.*, p. 282–83; according to Rājataranḡiṇī-Saṃgraha, p. 4, called Rāmadeva. Graphically there is but little difference between the Sanscrit letters *ja* and *ma*, so that confusion is not impossible.

under one name. If this is so, therefore, the first great invasion of Kashmīr by the Mongols and the latter's transitory supremacy there may be placed in the reign of King Rājadeva (1212/13-1235). This assumption is not only chronologically admissible, but it is also supported in its accuracy by a passage in the first volume of Rashīd al-Dīn's "Jāmi' al-tavārikh", where an account is given of a campaign against India and Kashmīr undertaken in A.H. 628 (1240/41)¹³. This campaign, which was led by Hutuku, the successor to Mengetu in command of the Mongolian army on the Indian frontier, ended with "the conquest and plundering of several countries". Although Kashmīr is not specifically mentioned, there can be to my mind no doubt that the passage also applies to the conquest of this country at the time of Rājadeva.

Less certain than the conquest of Kashmīr by the Mongols at the time of Rājadeva, however, is their expulsion viz. of the Mongolian governor, *by the same king*. For according to Kamalashrī this event must have taken place seven years after the first, while we know from Jonarāja that Rājadeva died already in the year 1235, namely six years later. So either we are dealing here with an error on the part of Kamalashrī as regards the number of years which had elapsed, or the event in question must have occurred at the time of Rājadeva's successor Saṁgrāmadeva (1235-1252).¹⁴ Owing to the lack of any additional data in our sources we shall be obliged to accept this interpretation.

As we are indebted to Kamalashrī's account for information on the results of the first campaign against Kashmīr which took place during the reign of Uguday-Qa'ān, so also in the case of the second enterprise at the time of Mangu-Qa'ān, which rendered the country subject to the Mongols for many years. For from the actual work of Rashīd al-Dīn we only gather in relation to this subject that Sālī-Noyōn, successor to Hutuku, fought against India and Kashmīr at the command of Mangu-Qa'ān and that, after having invaded many districts, he carried off considerable booty and sent a large number of Indian slaves to Hulagu-Khān, his commander-in-chief.¹⁵ Kama-

¹³ Cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. E. Blochet, in: E. 3. Gibb Mem. Series, Old Series, XVIII, 2, p. 240.

¹⁴ Cf. Jona Rāja, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

¹⁵ Cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, *Sbornik letopisei*, in: Trudy vostochnago otdeleniia imp. arch. obšč., VII (1861), p. 79; modern Russian translation by A. A. Chetagurov, *Rashīd al-Dīn, Sbornik letopisei*, Moskva-Leningrad

lāshrī's story not only supplements and clarifies these accounts but it also adds an important fact, viz. the appointment to the throne of Lakshmadeva at the decree (بحکم یرلیغ) of Mangu-Qa'ān and Hulagu-Khān. This is certainly an error on the part of the relater — Lakshmadeva (1273–1286) could have been placed on the throne only at the behest of Qubilay-Qa'ān (1259–1294) and Abaqa-Khān (1265–1282); otherwise this step would have to refer to his predecessor Rāmadeva, the contemporary of Mangu-Qa'ān and Hulagu-Khān, which is not at all likely — yet the fact remains that the kings of Kashmīr became at that time vassals of the Mongol rulers and were to remain such for a long time.¹⁶ This has of course only been indisputably established in the case of Lakshmadeva, yet there is no ground for assuming that the situation had undergone any change at the time of his successors Siṃhadeva (1286–1301) and Sūhadeva (1301–1320). There is one point, however, on which we obtain no elucidation whatsoever from the Mohammedan sources, namely whether the throne of Kashmīr was henceforth considered as a kind of joint feudal tenure of the dynasties of Mangu and Hulagu, or whether a separation of their respective spheres of influence and interests had been effected. Something seems to indicate that, since Hulagu's time, Kashmīr was politically and culturally more closely bound to the Mongols of Iran than to those of China.¹⁷

1952, I, i, p. 110, and idem in the translation of A. Smirnova, I, 2, p. 279. In Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, pp. 128–130, Ta'ir-Béhadur and Dair-no'ian respectively are mentioned as the predecessors of Sāli Noyón, an opinion which thus differs from the foregoing. As can be seen in Ġūzġānī's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Eng. trans. H. G. Raverty (in: Bibliotheca Indica, L XXVIII) p. 727, Tā'ir was joint commander of the Mongol army of Mengetu. Cf. also Spuler, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁶ The assumption that Kashmīr maintained itself as an "independent Hindu state" during the Mongol epoch is hereby proved erroneous. See also B. Spuler, *Die Mongolenzeit* (in: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. 6), Leiden-Köln 1953, on the map following p. 8.

¹⁷ The existence of cultural contact between the Mongols of Iran and Kashmīr is apparent, and certainly not in the last place, from a fact such as the summoning of Kamalashrī by Rashīd al-Dīn when composing his "History of India". Kamalashrī's knowledge of the contemporary history of Kashmīr makes it in my opinion most probable that Rashīd al-Dīn, in connection with the purpose he had in view, had intentionally sent for the former from *that* country. And from this one might also conclude without much difficulty that certain political relations between the two lands were still in existence at that time.

THE CASE AGAINST THE ALTAIC THEORY

by

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In his review of Prof. Grønbech and Mr Krueger's *Introduction to Classical (Literary) Mongolian* in the *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. II (1956), p. 76, Prof. Udo Posch suggested that it was positively dangerous to mention to young students of Mongolian such a heretical idea as one that "the supposed genetic affiliation of these groups (i.e. presumably the Turkish, Mongolian and Tungus language groups) has never been proved", and asked the Professor, if he really took up such an extraordinary position, to prove his case.

Like most Turcologists, though apparently unlike most Mongolologists (if there is such a word), I share my old friend Prof. Grønbech's view that it has never been proved that the Turkish, Mongolian and Tungus languages have a common ancestor; indeed I would go further and say that, insofar as it is possible to prove a negative, it can be proved that they do not; and I am therefore, without consulting him, venturing to state the reasons for which I hold these views.

It is a commonplace of prehistory that when it is possible to identify a particular ethnic group with a particular language, the existence of that ethnic group can usually be proved for a much earlier date than the first datable remains of the language. The ancient Britons and their language are a case in point. It is therefore not strange that our first knowledge of Turkish and Mongolian speaking tribes (I shall say in this paper very little about the Tungus languages, because I am almost completely ignorant of them) antedates by several centuries the first substantial remains of those languages. The earliest substantial remains of Turkish are the "Orkhon" inscriptions of the first half of the 8th Century A.D., and the earliest substantial remains of Mongolian are the *Secret History* compiled in about A.D. 1240, partly from earlier material (but how much earlier is obscure). Any examination of the question of a possible genetic relationship between the two languages must obviously start from a comparison

between the two languages at this early stage, but it is legitimate, in order to broaden the basis of comparison, to include on the Turkish side the 8th-9th Century translations of Buddhist and Manichaean documents, other contemporary texts in the same dialects (Türkü and Uyğur) and the main 11th Century "Xakani" authorities, the *Kutaḍḡu Bilig* and the *Dīwānu'l-Luğāti't-Turk* of Maḥmūd al-Kāšḡarī.

Remains of the two languages earlier than the 8th Century for Turkish and the 12th Century for Mongolian are so unsubstantial, mainly individual words in foreign authorities (Chinese, Byzantine, etc.), that they hardly do more than identify certain tribes as speaking one language or the other at a certain date. The evidence available is often so unclear that it raises more questions than it settles. For example, though I share Dr Pritsak's view that the available evidence proves that the Hsiung-nu were identical with the European Huns and spoke Turkish, other scholars take different views. However, such evidence as there is proves conclusively that Turkish and Mongolian tribes were in intimate contact with one another long before the 12th Century. To go no further back than the evidence of the "Orkhon" inscriptions (and it would be possible to go back a good deal further) the Northern Türkü were in close contact with the Kitañ, indisputably a Mongolian speaking tribe, more than five centuries before the compilation of the Secret History.

It might, therefore, reasonably have been expected that this long and intimate contact between tribes speaking the two languages would have resulted in the existence of a large number of words common to both, even if they did not have a common ancestor. But, strange as it may seem, comparison of the vocabularies of early Turkish texts and the *Secret History* discloses practically no common property at all, except one or two international words like *kagan* "supreme ruler" and *teḡri* "heaven" (the latter traceable several centuries earlier still in Hunnish) and the fifty odd "Turkic Loan Words in Middle Mongolian" listed in Prof. Poppe's article in Vol. I, pp. 36 ff, of this Journal. The basic words, that is the numerals, the basic verbs like "to say, to give, to take, to go" and so on, the basic nouns like "food, horse", and the basic adjectives like "good, bad" are all entirely different.

Admittedly words common to both languages began to be more numerous very soon after the end of the 12th Century. When Chinggis Khan swept across Asia into Europe and subjugated most of the Turkish peoples in the process, a lively interchange of words between the two languages began, which has continued intermittently almost to the present day. Since at this period the Mongols were far more "jungly" and

uncultured than the Turks, it is reasonable to suppose that they found it necessary to borrow far more words from the Turks than the Turks borrowed from them. The first exchanges were probably in the field of technical administrative terminology; thus for example Mongolian took *élçi* "ambassador" from Turkish and gave *alban* and *kupçur*, two kinds of taxes, in return. The exchanges no doubt soon broadened out, and included such things as names of previously unfamiliar animals and the like.

The process of exchange entered upon a new phase when the Mongols were converted to Buddhism. The translation of the Buddhist scriptures into Mongolian involved the incorporation in that language of a great mass of Turkish words, and indeed words from other languages (Sanskrit and the like) in Turkish dress. The phonetic system of Mongolian was to some extent different from, and on the whole poorer than, Turkish, and the adoption of Turkish words in Mongolian often involved some phonetic change, for example in the absence of a final palatal sibilant in Mongolian Turkish *ulus* "a country" became *ulus*.

The extent of Mongolian penetration in the North Western (Kıpçak, Koman, etc.), South Central (Çağatay, etc.) and South Western (Osmanlı, etc.) Turkish language groups can be judged by a series of texts and documents running from the 13th Century onwards; generally speaking there is only a sprinkling of Mongolian words and even of these few one or two are really only old Turkish words in their Mongolian dress, like *ulus*.

The position was very different in the North Eastern (Tuvan, Khakas, Mountain Altai, etc.) and North Central (Kirgiz, Kazakh, etc.) Turkish language groups which were spoken in areas where Mongol domination or influence continued far longer than it had in the West. Unfortunately it is impossible to chart the stages in the Mongolian invasion of these languages since they were unwritten and we have no evidence regarding them earlier than the texts and vocabularies collected by Russian scholars in the second half of the 19th Century.

When the curtain finally lifts, the picture is one of great variety. The extreme case is Tuvan, the language of the Tuvan Autonomous Province (*Oblast'*) of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, which until about A.D. 1944 was reckoned a part of Outer Mongolia. In this language many original Turkish words for quite ordinary concepts like "to destroy" have been ousted by their Mongolian equivalents. Basically, when certain recent phonetic changes, such as the replacement of *-liğ* by *-tiğ* as the termination of the Possessive Noun/Adjective of most nouns ending in

consonants, have been discounted, Tuvan is one of the most archaic modern Turkish languages; it still has in use a number of very old Turkish words for which the only other authorities are the 8th-9th Century Uyğur texts or the 11th Century *Dīwān* of Kāšğarī. On the other hand Palmbakh's *Tuvinsko-Russkiy Slovar'*, the only substantial dictionary of the language, is full of Mongolian loan-words, including some originally Turkish words handed back in Mongolian dress like *ulus*. On some pages nearly all the words are of Mongolian origin. It is probably not too much to say that, after the recent Russian loan-words have been eliminated, not much less than half the residue consists of Mongolian loan-words.

Indeed things have gone much further than that; in Tuvan alone of all the Turkish languages (apart from one or two odd words) a good deal of the morphology is also Mongolian. This is partly due to "normalization" of which there are clear signs in the dictionary, but much more to the actual condition of the language before any question of normalization arose. For example, the standard terminations for Deverbal Nouns of Action are *-a:şkin/-e:şkin* and *-lğa/-lge*, both of which are pure Mongolian. It is hardly surprising that intruding Mongolian verbs have brought their Mongolian derived forms with them; for example, given that in Tuvan "to destroy" is *üre-*, the modern Mongolian form of the Classical verb *ürege-*, it seems only reasonable that "destruction" should be *üre:şkin*. But exactly the same thing happens to pure Turkish verbs. For example, from *üle-* "to share out, distribute", a verb going back to the 8th Century, besides *ülüg* "a share" and *üleş* "distribution", which are equally old Turkish words, we find *üelge* "(mathematical) division", with a Mongolian termination. This particular word is no doubt a neologism, but there are similar cases of Turkish roots with Mongolian terminations in Katanov's study of the Tuvan language (which he called Uryankhay) published at the beginning of this century.

Next after Tuvan, the two Turkish languages with the greatest Mongolian admixture are, as might be expected, Khakas and Mountain Altai. The vocabularies of these languages contain a good many Mongolian loan-words, but the morphology is hardly affected. As these languages are spoken in areas remote from the Moslem world, they contain practically no Arabic or Persian loan-words, except a few strays like *arba* "a cart", which probably reached them through one or two intermediaries and was greatly distorted in the process, the Arabic original being *'arrāda* and the first borrowing in Turkish dating back to about the 12th or early 13th Century.

In the North Central languages, Kirgiz and Kazakh, the Mongolian

element is smaller, though still appreciable. On the other hand these languages contain an appreciable number of Arabic and Persian loan-words, often in a very distorted form, for example *ezir* for *ḥāḍir*. Indeed of all the Turkish languages, these are the two which are most difficult to divide up into their original constituents of pure Turkish and the Mongolian, Arabic and Persian loan-words, let alone possible minor categories such as Ugrian loan-words.

The impact of the facts which I have outlined above on the Altaic theory is obvious. If a particular word in Mongolian has the same meaning as the same word, or something like it, in, say, Kazakh, this is no evidence that the two languages have a common ancestor; it is merely one of hundreds of examples of the widespread exchange of vocabulary which I have described above. Similarly the fact that Mongolian has a termination *-sağ/-seg* to form nouns "designating penchant for or fondness of something", e.g. *emeseg* "a ladies' man", and Turkish has a similar termination with a similar meaning is no evidence that the two languages have a common ancestor. This termination is part of the morphological structure of Turkish, but not of Mongolian. Of the two, Turkish alone has a Denominal verbal termination *-sa/-se-*, used to form Desiderative verbs, e.g. from *suv* "water" *suvsa-* "to desire water, to be thirsty"; and from *er* "man" *erse-* "to run after men, to be a nymphomaniac". Turkish *-sak/-sek* is merely the Noun/Adjective of Action from such Desiderative verbs, that is *ersek* "nymphomaniac" is derived not directly from *er* but from *erse-*. Obviously Mongolian, though it did not borrow the Turkish verbal termination *-sa/-se-*, did borrow the Turkish Deverbal termination *-sak/-sek* (converted to *-sağ/-seg* to comply with Mongolian phonetic rules) and affixed it even to pure Mongolian nouns like *eme*, just as Tuvan affixes Mongolian suffixes like *-lǵa/-lge* even to pure Turkish words like *üle-*. No arguments for the Altaic theory which are based on comparisons between material later than, say, A.D. 1200 on the Turkish side and A.D. 1240 on the Mongolian side have any validity whatever, since it can never be proved that one or other of the words involved is not a loan-word. By parity of reasoning, I assume that similar arguments relating to Tungus must be equally invalid, since intimate contacts between Mongolian and Tungus speakers are known to have existed for centuries before the first substantial material in any Tungus language.

This does not, of course, by itself dispose finally of the Altaic theory. It may be argued that it is too simple-minded to deny a genetic relationship between pre-12th Century Turkish and the Mongolian of the Secret History merely because their vocabularies look entirely different. After

all *five* – *fünf* – *cinq* – *quinque* – *penta* – *pañca* look completely different but have a common ancestor. The answer to this is that there are not enough pairs of synonymous words in the two earliest stages of the language to justify the theory of a common ancestor, however remote, and that the pairs do not occur in the right parts of the vocabulary. As I said above the synonymous basic numerals, verbs, nouns and adjectives in the two languages, that is those parts of the vocabulary in which the pairs should occur to be significant, are completely unlike one another and no amount of ingenuity of the kind which has proved the common parentage of, say, *five* and *cinq* has served to relate these basic words to one another. It is quite true that some pairs of words can be produced, Prof. Posch himself in his review of Prof. Grønbech's book has produced several, but the most which they seem to me to prove is that the process of vocabulary exchange which proceeded so vigorously from the time of Chinggis Khan onwards was probably proceeding also at a slower tempo at an earlier period, say when the Northern Türkü and the Kitañ were in contact in the 7th and 8th Centuries.

One of Prof. Posch's examples is particularly instructive. He lists the words: -Middle Mongolian *hüker*; Tungus *ukur/hukur*; Turkish *hökiz* (a modern corruption) *ökiz öküz*; Çuvaş *vêGër*, all meaning, according to him, "bull" (though actually "ox" would be more accurate), and from them deduces a "Proto-Mongolian" (though it would be more civil to the Turks to say "Proto-Altaic") *pökür* "ox". Now it so happens that *öküz*, a word as old as the 8th-9th Century (*Irk Bitig*), is one of the very few early Turkish words for which Turcologists, who are not usually prone to such etymological adventures, have felt disposed to seek a foreign origin. On the one hand the ox is not an animal exactly characteristic of the supposed cradle of the Turkish race, wherever that may have been; on the other hand *öküz* is quite suspiciously like the synonymous Kuchaeen ("Tokharian B") word *okso*, indeed more like it than it is like *hüker*. It is in fact much more reasonable to suppose that at some moment in pre-history the Turks got oxen from the Kuchaeans or some other Indo-European people, and, as is customary in such cases, took the name with the animals, and that at some later period in pre-history the Mongols in their turn got oxen from the Turks, took the name with them and altered it to suit their own phonetic proclivities. If that be so, *pökür* is a mere figment of the imagination, as indeed I personally believe that the supposed Altaic initial *p-* is.

The arguments which I have produced against the Altaic theory seem to me to be overwhelming, but there may be some answer to them.

I very much hope that this paper will inspire some supporter of the theory, perhaps Prof. Posch himself, to produce an answer; but it must be a reasoned answer, not a mere appeal to authority, least of all to the authority of distinguished scholars now deceased, who did not have the inestimable advantage which we now possess of being able to survey the history of the two languages in their full perspective, and to study in intimate detail the morbid anatomy of such extraordinary mixed languages as Tuvan.

TRAVAUX D'ORFÈVRENERIE AUX PAYS DES ORDOS

par

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Heinstert

Dédié en hommage de respect et de reconnaissance à A. Mostaert, cicm, à l'occasion de son 75ième Anniversaire par un de ses anciens élèves.

Quiconque s'est approché des autochtones du haut-plateau des Ordos, a pu constater que dans leurs repas, ceux-ci emploient à l'instar de leurs voisins chinois, des bâtonnets (*K'oi-tzu*) pour manger, mais par contre, n'employant pas de bols en faïence comme ces derniers, ils ont à leur place une tasse de bois,¹ appelée "*ayaga*", toute simple, mais enchassée artistiquement comme dans une coupe d'argent chez les gens à l'aise et les riches.² Les Mongols Ordos, tout comme les Tibétains,³ ont toujours cette jatte sur eux, et l'emportent en voyage; les riches ayant pour cela une espèce de pochette brodée "*ayaga yin ger*" qu'ils pendent à leur ceinture, tandis que la grande majorité, civils et lamas, la portent sur la poitrine, en dessous de leur robe longue, retenue et ajustée par une ceinture de soie ou d'étoffe verte, jaune ou rouge, doublement enroulée autour de leur corps.

Ces tasses de bois, on pourrait pour ainsi dire les comparer aux coupes "*Maser*" des temps anciens en Europe centrale et nordique, puisqu'ils ont au moins une caractéristique de commun avec ces dernières, du fait de leur propriété spéciale d'annihiler les effets nocifs du poison.

¹ Cfr. Louis Kervyn, *Scènes de vie mongole* (S'hai, 1923), p. 480: "Les Mongols mangent généralement dans des jattes de bois."

² Buschan, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, III: *Asien*, Sp. 438.

³ Cfr. Alexandre David-Neel, *Voyage d'une Parisienne à Lhasa* (1930), p. 73, en note: "Les Tibétains ont l'habitude de porter un bol de bois dans cette sorte de poche. Il est de règle presque générale au Tibet de ne jamais boire dans un bol appartenant à une autre personne, d'où la nécessité de porter toujours le sien avec soi; les riches le mettent dans une boîte confiée au domestique."



Fig. 1. *Ayaga* argentée, vue par la base. Elle se trouve enfoncée ici d'un quart, dans sa pochette appelée *ayaga yin ger*.



Fig. 2. Vue latérale de la même tasse de bois enchassée dans de l'argent. La ligne brune qu'on remarque à demie hauteur est le bois nu qui apparaît. La plupart de ces tasses ont 7 à 8 cm de hauteur, sur 11 à 12 cm de diamètre.



Fig. 3. Autre modèle d'*ayaga*; travail moins fin, mais dont l'ornementation argentée est rehaussée dans un genre bouddhique, et coulée avec de l'émail (cloisonné) en couleurs rouges, jaunes et bleues.

Elles sont fabriquées avec du bois des racines de bouleaux tibétains (*tanyyud yin xailasu*), que les chinois appellent *Su-mou* et travaillées d'un seul bloc.⁴ On en fabrique aussi avec du bois blanc, à des prix inférieurs, mais ceux-ci se fendent plus aisément et plus vite. Chez les riches les tasses enchassées à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur avec de l'argent (c'est à peine qu'au pourtour extérieur on voit une fine bande d'un demi centimètre, de bois laissé nu, avec sa couleur propre), sont ordinairement fabriquées et découpées dans un bois de premier choix des racines brunes, dures de bouleau tibétain ou même de santal.⁵

Ordinairement après s'en être servi dans les repas, on ne les lave pas, mais on se contente, après y avoir bu le lait ou le thé, de les lécher simplement avec la langue, et les argentées, on les nettoie un peu, en les frottant deux, trois fois avec une loque de soie bleue, appelée *ayaga yin arsiyul*.

Leur provenance vient surtout des marchés chinois, qui comme nous dit Karamisheff⁶ importent annuellement dans les deux Mongolies jusque 800.000 pièces (de ces "wooden cups") pour une somme de 160.000 \$, contre une somme seulement de 64.000 \$ pour 160.000 tasses en faïence.

Cet usage de l'*ayaga* et des tasses de bois chez les Ordos et chez les autres Mongols remonte jusqu'aux temps de leur fameux héros national⁷ Genghiskhan, que la littérature et la fantaisie du peuple ont toujours entouré de légendes merveilleuses, qui surtout chez des Ordos fleurissent à son sujet, puisque c'est sa terre à lui, la terre de ses 8 tentes blanches (*naiman cagan ger*), la terre de son tombeau légendaire mais non historique. Aux Ordos, malgré peut-être la rareté de ceux qui auront lu l'histoire secrète des Mongols, chronique écrite même par un des leurs, l'historien Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi, né en 1604 au pays des Ordos (dans la bannière de Usjen),⁸ il n'y a pas de personnage plus populaire, plus grand, plus saint aux yeux des habitants de ce plateau.

⁴ Cfr. Kowalevsky, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe*, p. 126. Cfr. Debesse, *Dictionnaire chinois-français*, pour le mot *su-mou*: bois de campêche, bois de *sapan* (p. 309).

⁵ Bois de Santal (mong. *tsan-dan*) de différentes sortes comme le *Syrium myrtifolium*, le *Pterocarpus santalinus*, ou d'autres.

⁶ Cfr. Karamisheff, *Mongolia and Western China, Annual Consumption of Local and Imported Goods in Mongolia*, p. 282.

⁷ En 1939, les soi-disantes reliques de Genghiskhan, à *Etjin Horo* (aux Ordos) avaient été emmenées dans la province du Kansou, plus tard au Tsinghai, et ramenées en 1955 à leur ancienne place, où l'on vient de leur construire un nouveau mausolée; cfr. *Singapore Newsweek*, nov. 14, 1955: "This week the much-traveled bones of Genghis Khan were back in their original place. Communist China announced the dedication at *Etjin Horo* of a new mausoleum, guesthouse, and museum."

⁸ Cfr. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt* (St. Petersbourg, 1829).

Ainsi quand leur grand empereur Genghis est mort dans ses conquêtes contre la Chine, le 27 août 1227, sur la montagne de *Lu-pan-shan*,⁹ nous voyons la légende populaire attribuer à son testament les paroles suivantes :

Lorsque la queue du renard servira d'ornement au chapeau,
 Lorsqu'on se servira de bols de faïence pour manger,
 Lorsque les hommes revêtiront un surtout sans manches,
 Lorsque les traces des chars se croiseront en tous sens comme les lattes des routes,
 Lorsqu'on ne pourra plus trouver partout des crottins de moutons,
 Mais que les débris de faïence joncheront le sol,
 Alors je reviendrais me rendre utile aux Ordos,
 Et vaincre vos ennemis.

D'après ce testament¹⁰ donc, leur empereur aurait prévu que la grandeur mongole ne durerait pas, que les Chinois les domineraient quelque jour, mais alors il reviendrait pour les aider, et les Mongols attendent. La queue de renard est un ornement usité parmi les Chinois, qui mangent dans des bols de faïence et portent un surtout sans manches, cependant en usage actuellement chez les deux peuples. Le sédentaire chinois fait beaucoup de chariots; choses impossibles aux Mongols, habitant les sables de l'Ordos. Lorsqu'on ne trouvera plus de crottins de mouton, c'est que toutes les terres seront prises par les cultivateurs sédentaires chinois.¹¹ Les débris de faïences joncheront le sol: supposent des agglomérations où la faïence est en usage.

Les Mongols de l'Ordos aiment tout ce qui est en argent, et en général tout le clinquant argenté sur leurs pipes, briquets, fioles à priser, leurs étuis à bâtonnets, leurs *oyaga*'s revêtues d'argent, leurs bagues, ainsi et

⁹ Le *Lu-pan-shan* se trouve dans la province actuelle du Kansou, non loin de la ville de Ping-leang; cfr. Gowen-Hall, *An Outline History of China* (London, 1929), p. 138, où parlant de la tombe de Genghis il dit ceci: "His remains were carried back to his birth-place (probablement le mont Kentei, au nord d'Ourga), and lest the death should spread, all people met on the way were slain; Genghis was buried in the forest near a large tree, which in life had pleased him. At the grave were immolated forty virgins of the most illustrious families and the best and costliest stallions of Asia. Then the forest was permitted to close around the tomb, so that the last resting place of Temuchin might be forbidden forever from the eyes of men."

¹⁰ Pour le testament historique cfr. A. Mostaert, "A propos de quelques portraits d'empereurs mongols," dans *Asia Major*, 1927, fasc. I, p. 155 (texte mongol avec traduction).

¹¹ Cfr. J. van Oost, *Au pays des Ordos* (Paris). Pour l'infiltration et la colonisation progressive et séculaire du pays des Ordos par les Chinois, cfr. surtout le travail magistral de J. van Hecken, "Les réductions catholiques du pays des Ordos," dans la *Nouvelle Revue de science missionnaire* (Schöneck, Suisse), 1955-1956.



Fig. 4. Spécimens d'étuis à bâtonnets en ivoire, ornés d'argent. A remarquer celui de gauche, plus simple celui des femmes, avec le grand bouton brodé par elles, et celui de droite plus riche appartenant aux hommes.

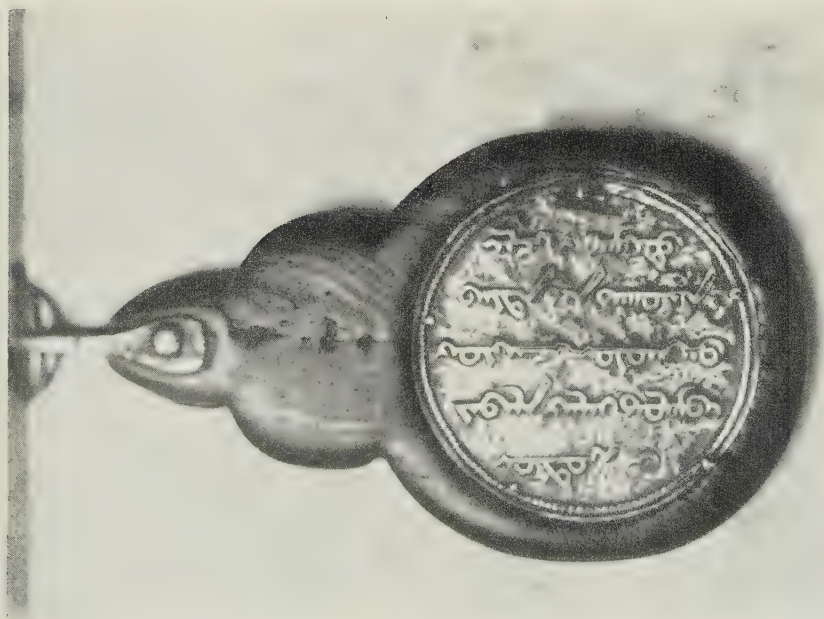


Fig. 5. Spécimen d'une *Elci yin Demdek* ou tablette de commandement ornée sur les 2 faces d'une plaque d'argent avec d'un côté un texte mongol, et de l'autre le texte mandchou. Elle est en usage aux Ordos, pour lever les impôts.

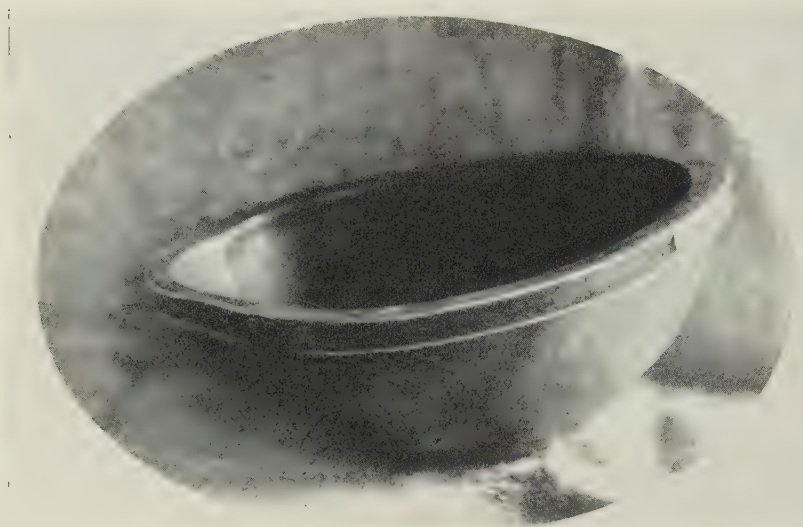


Fig. 6. *Kapala*: crâne enchassé de cuivre et orné d'argent, objet de culte tantrique dans les lamaseries.



Fig. 7. Jeunes femmes ordos, avec leur coiffure nationale (*ts'iu ye*).

surtout aux coiffures (*ciuye*) et boucles d'oreilles, ou autres ornements chez les femmes. Lamas et laïcs, princes et nobles, hommes et femmes aiment à se pavaner dans leur costume national en couleurs vives, sur lequel on remarque ces gros boutons d'argent, décorés et ornés de perles rouges.

Aussi leurs orfèvres ou forgerons d'argent sont de vrais génies, de vrais maîtres en leur art steppien, travaillant au moyen d'outils encore fort primitifs et rudimentaires ces plaques d'argent à jour, avec des filigranes et des ornements de toutes sortes de pierres précieuses, de sorte qu'ils créent parfois de vrais chefs-d'oeuvre: art qu'ils semblent encore tenir de leurs anciens ancêtres ou prédécesseurs *Hsiung-nu* (Huns), qui encore en 214 av. J. C. habitaient leur contrée, et furent chassés par Mong-t'ien, général de l'empereur Che-Houang-ti des Ts'in (221-206 av. J. C.).¹²

Dans tous leurs travaux, on peut constater que ce sont de fins observateurs de la nature et des choses, car les sujets préférés seront toujours pris dans la nature ou dans la faune environnante comme: chevaux, cerfs, antilopes, fleurs, poissons, oiseaux, tel que l'oiseau bouddhiste mythologique *Garuda*, etc.

Que de fois, accroupis près d'un pareil orfèvre pendant de longs moments, nous avons pu admirer leur savoir-faire, leur patience, leur habileté et leur imagination artistique, autant que leur justesse géométrique dans l'exécution de leur travail. Très habiles pour le repoussage de fines plaques d'argent, du travail à jour, du filigranage des ornements de pourtour, ils savent ainsi orner non seulement chez les riches certaines parties de leur selle, la devanture de leurs petites caisses ou armoires, sur lesquelles dans leurs tentes ou yourtes se trouvent leur divinité, mais aussi tout autre objet, comme leurs tablettes de commandement (*elci yin demdek*; cfr. fig. 5), des objets religieux comme leurs amulettes, porte-bonheurs, kapala (cfr. fig. 6), statuettes, jusqu'aux anneaux travaillés d'argent qui entourent leurs tuyaux de pipe noirs.

Sur certaines *ayaga's* (dont malheureusement les fotos nous ont été perdues pendant la dernière guerre sino-japonaise) on peut voir d'admirables scènes d'animaux ou d'oiseaux, que ces héritiers de la vieille civilisation des steppes avaient frappé en relief sur la base de ces coupes; parfois un tableau, d'une finesse comme de la dentelle de Bruges, où dans la steppe nous voyons défilé une jeune antilope, à une allure vertigineuse; tel

¹² Cfr. R. Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes* (Paris, 1948), p. 62. Pour l'art de l'Ordos, cfr. aussi V. Griesmaier, "Entwicklungsfragen der Ordoskunst," *Artibus Asiae*, VII (Leipzig, 1937-38), et *Ordos Bronzen* (Wien, 1936).

autre avec un cerf, ou autre bête, sinon de beaux oiseaux, aux ailes déployées, planant sur les rochers; et ici tout: mouvement, allure, corps, est à sa juste proportion, car ces pâtres de l'Ordos connaissent le monde animal, au milieu duquel ils passent leur vie.

En examinant, par ex., la fig. 1, nous voyons qu'ici sur la base son fabricant a admirablement ciselé dans la plaque d'argent, au milieu de vagues, qui sur les vieilles cartes mandchoues, chinoises ou mongoles ont toujours cette même forme traditionnelle (trois poissons, dont les têtes respectives, formées cependant d'un seul triangle, sont si bien ajustées de point de vue géométrique, et les yeux de ces trois poissons indiqués que par trois points); en somme, on n'y voit qu'une tête, et en réalité, en regardant bien, chaque poisson a la sienne propre; de même qu'il faudrait six yeux pour ces trois poissons, nous n'en voyons que trois, alors que pourtant nous devons constater que chaque poisson a ici ses propres yeux). Entre ces trois poissons, comme autour de la tasse, nous voyons reproduit ici le vieux et traditionnel trigramme chinois, qui comme nous dit Waddell "are based on the very ancient chinese theory of the Yn-Yang: ¹⁾  YN (tib.: *Hor-tad*), et: ²⁾ Yang (tib.: *Hor-Yig*) ".¹³

La fig. 3 nous montre sur cette coupe une ornementation plutôt bouddhique, car nous ne trouvons les mêmes dessins de fleurs de Lotus qu'au pied des statuettes de Bouddha ou dans les temples que son fabricant a ciselé dans cette coupe, en y ajoutant plusieurs sortes d'émail, qui comme du cloisonné de Pékin rehausse ici avec son rouge, jaune et bleu, l'extérieur de cette *ayaga*.

La fig. 4 nous donne deux exemples d'étuis à bâtonnets, ornés de figures repoussées dans l'argent, ordinairement des dragons en lutte avec le soleil, comme nous le voyons toujours sur les grands manteaux de Bouddha.¹⁴ L'un cependant plus simple est un modèle de femme, l'autre porté par les hommes, qui pendent toujours ces étuis à leur ceinture, avec l'aide du gros bouton en marbre, dont un admirable bouton d'argent travaillé orne le centre du premier. Des boutons rouges de mano ou de türkis ornent le plus souvent ces étuis.

Dans les lamaseries, les riches lamas ont toujours leur *ayaga* en argent avec eux, tandis que les lamas plus pauvres et les lamas mendiants n'ont qu'une simple jatte en bois pour leur manger, un couteau pour couper la viande, et un bâton pour chasser les chiens. Ces lamas-mendiants, quoique chez eux la jatte de bois pour manger soit la même que leur sébile de

¹³ Waddell, *Buddhism of Thibet*, p. 394.

¹⁴ Cfr. *Chinese Art* par Judith & Arthur Hart Burling (London).

mendiants, donnent cependant un autre nom à cette tasse, et l'appellent *Badir*, parce qu'elle fait partie, tant en Mongolie qu'au Tibet, de leur équipement religieux.¹⁵

En parlant de ces coupes en argent, il nous revient tout d'un coup à l'esprit, d'avoir vu dans le pays des Ordos, il y a une trentaine d'années, une vieille coupe en or, admirablement travaillée ainsi que la soucoupe, et quelques larges agrafes en or, tout comme sur les chapes d'église, qu'un petit pâtre, en gardant ses brebis, avait trouvées par hasard dans le désert à 35 km en dehors de la Grande Muraille au nord de la ville-frontière de Ting-p'ien; probablement c'est grâce à l'érosion que ces pièces étaient venues à fleur de terre. Tout était du plus bel or, et la coupe avait une anse en forme de tortue, et sur la soucoupe on voyait ciselé une belle ornementation représentant l'oiseau mythologique *Garuda*. Les agrafes ornées semblaient provenir de vêtements amples, à l'instar de nos chapes catholiques. À quelle époque lointaine appartenait cette coupe en or¹⁶ du fait que le Bouddhisme ne fut introduit aux Ordos qu'au 13^e siècle, il est probable, comme dit le P. Mostaert, que ces pièces ne datent pas d'avant cette époque. Elles furent plus tard vendues à un antiquaire européen, et il est hors de doute qu'elles se trouvent actuellement dans un musée européen ou américain. Ces pièces avaient appartenu sans doute à quelque prince ou haut dignitaire bouddhiste en route avec sa caravane vers la ville impériale de Pékin, mais qui étant tombé dans une embûche de brigands, les aurait cachées provisoirement sous terre, ou bien elles provenaient d'anciennes tombes, car au pays de l'Ordos on a trouvé naguère beaucoup d'or dans d'anciennes tombes millénaires.

Qu'aux temps très anciens, on possédait déjà de telles *ayaga's* même en

¹⁵ Cfr. Van Durme, *Notes sur le lamaïsme*, p. 295, note 3: "Almsbowl: sébile (du sanscrit: *patra*, *pali*, *patta*; chinois: *po-ou-pouo*; mong: *badir*)"; cfr. Kowalevsky, 1070; Chandra Das, 1339; cfr. H. Hackmann, "Die Mönchsregeln des Klostertaoismus," dans *Hirth's Festschrift* (Berlin), p. 158: "Im Klostertaoismus ist die Form wie die der Eszschale, wie die *pa-kua*, die Öffnung aber ist rund; ihre achteckige Form soll sie ebenfalls von der runden Schale der Buddhisten unterscheiden, wie ihr (in Erinnerung an die *pa-kua*) ein gutes Omen geben. Auch wird sie in einen bestimmten Überzug gesteckt."

¹⁶ Vers la même époque, on avait trouvé pareille coupe en or, datant de la dynastie des Sung, dans le Lo-t'ou-kou, au Shensi (1924); après notre visite au British Museum (août 1955) Mr. Basel Gray, conservateur au dit Musée, nous en avait parlé dans une communication du 12 sept. '55, après que nous lui avions parlé de cette trouvaille de Ting-p'ien: "The nearest thing that occurs to me is a gold cup with dragon-head handle and gold tray under, decorated with flowers, which was formerly in a collection in Germany and is now in the Kempe collection in Sweden. It is excellently reproduced on plate 53 of the catalogue of his collection of Chinese gold and silver recently prepared by Bo Gyllensvärd, and published in Stockholm in 1953. This piece is there attributed to the Sung dynasty, and is said to have been found at Lo-to-k'ou in Shensi in 1924."

or, le fait nous est rapporté par Sagang secin (ou SSanang ssetsen), l'historien des Ordos,¹⁷ lorsqu'il nous cite à propos de cadeaux offerts en salutation: "consistant en sept joyaux précieux, 80 objets d'offrande, d'un poids de 500 *ssidschir*,¹⁸ et une coupe en or, lourde de 30 *ssidschir* et remplie de pierres précieuses" (*gučîn šjir ün altan ayaga*).

Dans sa légende, le même historien nous rapporte une anecdote sur Genghiskhan à la chasse, où il est question de l'*ayaga* en argent de l'empereur. Un jour chassant avec son faucon de prédilection, Genghis voulut étancher sa soif près d'une mauvaise source, mais quand il voulait porter à sa bouche sa coupe (*ayaga*) en argent, remplie d'eau, le faucon avec ses ailes lui renversait le précieux liquide, jusqu'à 3 reprises consécutives; voulant enfin connaître la cause de cet acte, Genghis s'aperçut tout d'un coup, trop tard hélas, que la source était infectée par un serpent vénimeux qui s'y trouvait, car dans sa colère il avait d'abord tué son faucon de prédilection.

Mais si nous examinons de plus près les travaux d'orfèvrerie¹⁹ aux Ordos, pendant les derniers siècles, nous devons conclure que c'est surtout dans les coiffures, lourdes d'argenterie, des femmes que les forgerons d'argent de l'Ordos ont exercé leur art et leur adresse; coiffures qui portent le nom de *ts'iuyve*, et qui d'emblée pour le voyageur asiatique averti, les fait reconnaître au milieu de toutes les femmes mongoles ou tibétaines. Cet ensemble imposant et beau de bijoux (où le tréfilé et le travail à jour sont admirables), que porte sur la tête l'épouse mongole de l'Ordos, est une véritable pièce d'architecture, composée d'une couronne et d'un portique en miniature, avec ses *ulgur* ou cinq disques d'argent travaillés à jour, et pendant sur chaque joue; cet amalgame de plaques, chaînettes, torsades et breloques, où l'argent se marie aux coraux et aux *sits'ing*, pierres précieuses vertes, encadre la tête de la matrone et retombe en cascade sur le front, les joues et les épaules. Et cela ne supprime pas les boucles d'oreilles; très longues et richement ornées, elles dévalent sur la poitrine. La femme mongole porte journellement le *ts'iuye*; elle peigne ses cheveux en tresses géminées, dont les extrémités, enfermées dans des tubes de toile rigide brodée et chargées chez les riches de grosses plaques d'argent travaillées, sont rattachées à la ceinture par des rubans brodés appropriés (cfr. fig. 7 et 8).

¹⁷ Cfr. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ostmongolen*, p. 232.

¹⁸ Pour le mot *sidir*, cfr. F. M. K. Müller, *Uigurische Glossen*, p. 319; cfr. aussi A. Mostaert & Desmet, *Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental*, p. 158, note 16.

¹⁹ Cfr. J. Kler, "I Nomadi del Gobi e l'Argento" dans *Crociata missionaria* (Rome), 1935.



Fig. 8. Femmes de l'Ordos s'échangeant leurs pipes par politesse (vue de profil de leur *ts'iuye*).



Fig. 9. Jeune fille des Ordos (14 ans) avec ses boucles d'oreilles en longues chaînes de perles rouges, attachées à des plaques d'argent travaillées et garnies au centre de perles rouges. – N.B. À remarquer aussi ses quelques tresses fines de cheveux, qui retombent de chaque côté et indiquent que la jeune fille n'est pas encore fiancée, car au jour de ses fiançailles, ces tresses sont rattachées ensemble sous le menton à l'instar d'une jugulaire de shako ou de casque, pour indiquer qu'elle n'est plus libre (cfr. Jos. Kler, „Quelques notes sur les coutumes matitrimoniales des Mongols Urdus," *Anthropos*, XXX [1935], pp. 166–195).

La jeune fille porte les cheveux retombants en tresse sur le dos (cfr. fig. 9). Pour corriger cette humiliante simplicité, elles allongent leurs boucles d'oreilles au moyen de chaînes d'argent rehaussées de coraux; le poids de cette orfèvrerie arracherait le lobe des oreilles, si ces jouvencelles n'avaient pas la précaution de la soutenir par des cordonnets, attachés à la tête et aux cheveux.²⁰ Aussitôt que les parents ont en vue le mariage de leur fille, on se hâte d'aller trouver ces *mönnyu darxan* (qui ont aussi leurs semblables chez les Chinois) pour commander le *ts'iuye* et les autres bijoux: bague, boutons ciselés d'argent ou même, chez les plus riches, un beau pectoral, appelé *yudcuwca* ou *gu-lä*; celui-ci est un amalgame de plusieurs croissants en tube d'argent, richement décorés, avec une plaque ronde, sur laquelle ressortent fleurs et oiseaux admirablement travaillés, attachée au cou par de belles chaînes d'argent. Les femmes aisées portent également sur les tubes en toile rigide prodée, qui cachent leurs tresses de cheveux, de larges plaques d'argent carrées ou en losange, rehaussées de belles figures de fleurs, dessins ou sujets parfois bouddhiques,²¹ tout comme nous en voyons, trois à quatre du même genre, sur la partie postérieure de leur coiffure, qui retombe dans la nuque, à l'instar des casques de pompiers de chez nous.²² Ces plaques ornées ont parfois de 4 à 6 cm de largeur.

Aussi n'est-il pas étonnant de voir ces jeunes femmes mariées dans une terre étrangère, attachées très sensiblement à leurs coiffures, bijoux, disques et pectoral, qu'en l'absence de leur parents, ils chantent alors nostalgiquement, en se souvenant de leurs donateurs ou orfèvres, surtout quand par malheur, elles l'auront perdu, ou qu'un méchant gars l'aura

4e strophe:

ülgürē dzügēt
örwös gēd mordolā;
ölō galu sinxu
gulduş ged mordolā
edzi-ts' ini jaxam-do
dungxar siwūxā

Portant ses *ulgur*, elle est partie
 accompagnée d'une troupe (de
 cavaliers); comme une oie sauvage
 à jeun, tête baissée, elle est partie.
 Ta mère, que devriendra-t-elle?
dungxar siwūxā.

²⁰ Ibidem, "Costumi di Mongolia," dans le nr. 9, Maggio 1937.

²¹ Cfr. J. Kler, "Schamanistische Gebräuche bei den Ordos Mongolen," *Ethnos* (Stockholm), 1956, où nous avons reproduit une foto (J. Braam) de la femme de *Tsoktu Otsir*, descendant du fameux *Khutuktai Setsen Kung Taidzi* des Ordos, laquelle porte sur sa poitrine un magnifique *yudcuwca* ou *gu-lä*.

²² Cfr. une foto de la partie supérieure de leur *ts'iuye* sur une de nos fotos dans "Quelques notes sur les coutumes matrimoniales des Mongols Ordos," *Anthropos*, XXX (1935), p. 190, planche I.

volé. Ainsi par ex. dans la chanson nr. 15 de la collection de A. Mostaert,²³ chanson dite de *dungxar siwūxä*:

6e strophe:

*darūlgāa dzuget
dardas gēd mordolā;
dala k'unēr gasulat
örwōs gēd mordolā
edzi-ts'ini jaxam-do
dungxar siwūxä.*

Portant sa parure de tête, (la tête)
hérissée (de bijoux), elle est partie;
entourée de soixante-dix personnes,
en grande compagnie elle est partie.
Ta mère, que deviendra-t-elle?
dungxar siwūxä.

Dans la chanson nr. 16, nous trouvons une plainte d'une jeune femme, qui, étant allée visiter son frère aîné, se laissa voler son pectoral par sa belle-soeur. Presque toutes les strophes commencent par parler de l'orfèvre qui l'avait fabriqué ou de la place où elle l'avait déposé. Ainsi, par ex., dans la 1e strophe

*dalādināa darxanar
da't'alūsa gu-lā-min
dala xojor suru si'ts'ingēe
singed-siged xese gū-lā-min.*

O mon pectoral, dont ont fait
tréfler les fils par un artisan de
Dalat. O mon pectoral dans lequel
j'avais fait enchâsser mes soixante-
douze coraux et *si'ts'ing*.

et la 15me strophe

*erēe sūguidu t'awisan
erēe mungu gu-lā-min
edži-mini bālā-gem
endēr wāna gedži k'elen-do*

O mon pectoral d'argent et à orne-
ments multicolores qu'on a déposé
dans l'armoire peinte en plusieurs
couleurs! Si ma mère vivait encore,
elle dirait qu'il est ici.

On peut donc dire que dans toute l'immense Mongolie on ne rencontre nulle part, ni chez les Kalchas, ni chez les Bouriates, les Eleuthes ou les Kalmoucks, des coiffures pareilles à celles des femmes de l'Ordos, qui est pour ainsi dire la terre de Genghiskhan par excellence, et où habitent les princes et les nobles (*noyan*) de descendance genghiskhanide. Et de fait, une trentaine d'années passé, malgré une infiltration et une colonisation séculaire et impérieuse des Chinois, dont eux-mêmes étaient parfois la cause²⁴ ils étaient encore fidèles à leurs anciennes conceptions chamano-

²³ Cfr. Antoine Mostaert, "Ordosica," *Bulletin of the Catholic University* (Pékin), 1934, p. 78.

²⁴ Cfr. Albert Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise, eine Studienfahrt durch das nord-westliche China und durch die Innere Mongolei in das östliche Tibet*, 2te Ausgabe (1923), p. 70: "Durch die Schuld der Adeligen und Fürsten, die als Besitzer der besseren und anbaufähigen Ländereien die ersten Niederlassungen der Fremden (Chinesen) zuliessen, ist das Land für Nomaden zu eng geworden."

bouddhistes,²⁵ à leur système d'administration, comme à leur langue et à leurs traditions, à leur costume comme à leurs orfèvres, car comme nous le dit A. Mostaert dans la préface de son grand *Dictionnaire Ordos*:²⁶ "Il faut mentionner aussi le culte de Tchingiskhan resté si vivace chez les Ordos, gardiens attirés des "Huit tentes blanches du Seigneur" et qui est cause qu'un bon nombre de termes et expressions techniques datant d'un lointain passé et inconnu des autres tribus se sont conservés chez eux." Mais le resteront-ils encore longtemps, sous l'étreinte chinoise, et au contact d'un monde tout nouveau et de tous ces innombrables événements des dernières trente années, car comme l'a dit quelqu'un: "Il ne faut que quelques années pour prendre les dehors d'une civilisation, mais il faut des siècles pour se pénétrer de ses principes."

Peuple simple et bon, naïf et enfant, mais dont tous ceux qui ont vécu leur vie au milieu d'eux garderont avec reconnaissance le souvenir de leur cordialité et de leur hospitalité proverbiale.

²⁵ Cfr. Jos. Kler, "Schamanistische Gebräuche," *Ethnos*, 1956.

²⁶ Antoine Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos* (Pékin, 1944), XIV, 390, 2 vol., Tome I, pp. V-VI.

THE MONGOLIAN AFFRICATES *č AND *ǰ

by

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Ramstedt was the first to discover that Mongolian č before *i had developed from *t. The examples he gave were Mo. *bičig* "writing" = Uigur *bitig* id. and Mo. *čičire-* "to tremble" = Chaghatai *titrā-* id.¹ This correct observation was accepted by Vladimirtsov who added a few more examples.² Likewise, Mongolian ǰ has developed, in the same position, from *d as has also been demonstrated by Ramstedt, who quotes the suffix of the Converbum imperfecti -*ǰi as an example.³ Thus it can be stated that the syllables či and ǰi have developed from *ti and *di respectively. But does this mean that there are no words in Mongolian with original *č or *ǰ in this position? This is *a priori* improbable, because Mongolian has the primary affricates *č and *ǰ which are phonemically distinct from other consonants. As separate phonemes, they should occur with various vowels, and there is no reason why primary syllables *či and *ǰi should not occur unless they have developed into something else.

A careful examination of all cases in question, indeed, leads to the conclusion that the Mongolian affricates *č and *ǰ before *i (or *i) are of a dual origin. They are of secondary origin in some stems, having developed from *t and *d respectively, but in other stems they are primary in origin, having resulted from Common Altaic *č and *ǰ respectively.⁴

Let us examine all cases separately and begin with the secondary č as the simplest case.

¹ G. J. Ramstedt, "Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart phonetisch verglichen", *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, XXI, 2 (1903), pp. 11-12.

² B. Ya. Vladimircov, *Sravnitel'naya grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo yazyka i khalkhaskogo narechiya, Vvedenie i fonetika* (Leningrad, 1929), p. 405.

³ G. J. Ramstedt, *Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen* = *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, XIX (1903), p. 106.

⁴ Vladimircov, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

A. THE SECONDARY Č IN MONGOLIAN

The secondary affricate č before **i* (**ĩ*) has developed from **t*. Common Mongolian had č in the cases concerned but Pre-Mongolian still had **t* before **i* (**ĩ*) which is evident from old Mongolian loan words in Tungus, e.g., Tng. *gutin* "thirty" < **gutin* > Mo. *γučin* id.

The developments of the Common Altaic **t* before **i* (**ĩ*) are shown in the following table:⁵

Common Altaic	<i>*t-</i>	<i>*-t-</i>
Pre-Turkic	<i>*t-</i>	<i>-*t-</i>
Chuvash	č-	<i>-t-</i>
Ancient Turkic	<i>t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>
Written Mongolian	č-	<i>-č-</i>
Manchu	č-	<i>-č-</i>
Tungus and Lamut	<i>t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>
Korean ⁶	1. č-	<i>-č-</i>
	2. <i>t-</i>	<i>-d-</i>

EXAMPLES OF **t-*

CA **tik-*, Ch. *tâkâs* "crowded" < Trk., AT *tîq-* "to push back, to push against something", *tîqil-* "to be angry", Khak. *tîγĩr-* "to press, to squeeze", *tîγĩs* < **tîqĩs* "crowding", O *tîγĩn* "ice jam in a river", *tîγĩš* "crowding, jam" = Mo. *čiqul* "close, tight; narrow space; anger, rage", Kh. *cuxpl* "anger", Bur. *suxalā χur-* "to be angered" = Tng. *tikunñi-* "to enrage someone", *tikul-* "to become angry", *tikunñiča-* "to hurt someone's feelings", *tikun* "rage, anger", L *teḱũmkân-* "to make angry", *teḱũn-* "to become angry", *teḱũlan* "angry", *teḱũl-* "to be enraged" = Ko. *čigjindā-* "to poke, to tease, to excite, to anger, to stir up".

CA **tīda-*, PT **tīda-*, Ch. *čar-* < **tīd-* "to keep away, to prevent from doing", AT *tīð-* id., Khak. *tīs-* < **tīz-* < **tīð-* id. = Mo. *čida-* "to be able, to vanquish" > O *čīda-* id., Kh. *čadb-*, Bur. *šada-* id.

⁵ Abbreviations: Alt. – Altai Turkic; AT – Ancient Turkic; Az. – Azerbaijan; Bar. – Baraba; Barg. – Barguzin Tungus; Bash. – Bashkir; Bur. – Buriat; CA – Common Altaic; Ch. – Chuvash; Chag. – Chaghatai; Cum. – Cuman; D – Dagur; ET – East Turki; G – Goldi (Nanai); Kar. – Karaim; Kaz. – Kazakh; Kh. – Khalkha; Khak. – Khakas; Kir. – Kirgiz; Klm. – Kalmuck; Km. – Crimean; Kmd. – Kumandin; Ko. – Korean; KT – Karaim of Troki; L – Lamut; Ma. – Manchu; MMo. – Middle Mongolian; Mo. – Written Mongolian; MT – Middle Turkic; N – Negidal; O – Oirot; Ol. – Olcha; PT – Pre-Turkic; Tar. – Taranchi; Tat. – Volga Tatar; Tel – Telengit; Tng. – Tungus; Trk. – Turkic; Tu. – Turkish; Uig. – Uigur; Uz. – Uzbek; Ya. – Yakut.

⁶ č- and ǰ- before **i* > *i*, but *t-* and *-d-* before **i* > another vowel.

CA **tīna*-, PT **tīna*, Ch. *čun* “soul”, AT *tīn* “breath”, *tīn*- “to breathe”, *tīnlīy* “living creature”, O *tīn*- “to breathe”, *tīn* “soul, breath”, Khak. *tīn* id., Ya. *tīn* id., O *tīnarlīq* “animal, living creature” = Mo. *činar* “nature, essence”, Kh. *čanvr* id., Bur. *šanar* “inauguration of a shaman”.

CA **tīŋla*-, PT **tīŋla*-, Ch. *tīnla*- < Trk., AT *tīŋla*- “to listen”, O *tīŋda*- id., Khak. *tīŋna*- id. = Mo. *čiŋla*-, Kh. *čagnv*-, Bur. *šagna*- id.

CA **tīgīrak*, PT **tīyraq*, AT *tīyraq* “active, energetic” = Mo. *čigiray* < *čīyīray* “massive, thick, solid”, Kh. *čīrvk*, Bur. *šīrag* “solid, strong” > Tuva *šīraq* “healthy, strong, robust”.

CA **tila*-, PT **tila*, Ch. *čul* < **čal* < **ʔal* < **tila* “stone”, AT, Chag. *taš*, Ya. *tās*, Az. *daš*, O *taš* id. = Mo. *čilayun*, MMo. *čilaʼun*, Kh. *čulū*, Bur. *šulūŋ* id. = Ol., N, G *žolo* < Mongolian = Ko. *tol* < **tilo* < **tilu* “stone, pebble”.

CA **tīŋ*, PT **tīŋ*, Ch. *čōn* “true”, O, Khak. *tīŋ* “strong, powerful, mighty” = Mo. *čiŋ* “strong, genuine, true”, Kh. *čiŋ* id.

CA **tike*, PT **tike*, Ch. *tikəs* “even, level” < Trk., Chag., Uz. *tik* “straight, perpendicular” = Mo. *čike*, Kh. *ceχə*, Bur. *sexe* “direct, straight” = Tng. *-tiki* ~ *-tki* suffix of the directive case = Ko. *čik* < **tik* “directly, at once, honest, straight”.

CA **tile*-, PT **tile*-, Ch. *čōl*- “to split”, O *til*- “to tear off, to pull off, to tear to small pieces”, *tilim* “piece, cutting into narrow stripes”, Kaz. *tilək* “small incision” = Mo. *čilüge* “crack”, Kh. *čölē* id. = Tng. *tilē*- “to skin an animal”.

CA **tiki*-, PT **tiki*-, Ch. *čik*- “to stuff”, O *tik*- “to push into, to drive into, to fill the stomach, to overeat”, Tuva *digir*- “to fill, to drive into” = Mo. *čiki*- id. = Tng. *tipkeže*- “to drive into”, *tipke*- id. (perfective), *tipken*- “to push something firmly into another object”, *tipkēn* “peg”.

EXAMPLES OF *-t-

CA **tatī*-, Ch. *tutâ* “taste” < Trk., AT *tat*- “to taste something”, Az. *dad*- id., AT *tatīylīy* “pleasant”, *tatīy* “pleasure”, Khak. *tadīy* “taste”, *tadīylīy* “sweet”, Bash., Tat. *tatlī* “pleasant”, Tuva *taptī* < **tattī* < **tatlīy* “sweet” = Mo. *tačija*- < **tačīya*- “to burn with passion, to have a passion, to crave for” = Ma. *tači*- < **tati*- “to study, to learn”, *tačixijan* “study, doctrine”, *tačinaqu* “unaccustomed”, *tačinun* “custom”, *tačin* “doctrine”, *tačiqu* “school”, Tng. *tatigā*- “to teach, train”, *tatigān* “study, training, educational establishment”, L *tatkat*- “to tame an animal, to train”, *tatigā*- “to tame, to make accustomed” = Ko. *that* “accustomed, tame”.

CA *atī, PT *atī, AT atī “grandson, nephew” < Pre-Mongolian = Mo ači id., Bur. aša id.

CA *batī-, Chag., Kirg. bat “quick, fast”, batur- “to be fast” = Mo. bačim “hurry, fast”, a verbal noun in -m from *bači- < *batī-, Kh. bačimdv- “to hurry”.

CA *titī-, MT tit-, Chag. tit- “to pluck in pieces”, Tu. dit- id. = Kalm. čičī- “to pierce”.

CA *arti-, PT *artī-, MT, O, Tu. art- “to load” = Mo. ači- < *ati- < *artī- id., Kh. ačī-, Bur. aša- id. = Tng. atiga “luggage, packing bag” < Pre-Mongolian *atiga > Mo. ačija “load, cargo”.

CA *etike, Chag. ätäkä < *ätikā “uncle” = Mo. ečige < *etike “father”, Kh. ecagə, Bur. esege id. = L etkī “father-in-law, elder brother of the husband”, ete “grandfather, uncle, elder brother of the father or mother”.

CA *pōti, Ya. ütö < *ōt “sort of a willow tree” = MMo. höčjesün ~ hičjesün < *pōtigesün id., Monguor šd’žiödze “tree”, Mo. ičjesün “willow tree”, Bur. v̆šāh̆y̆ “willow tree” = Ko. p̆dil id.

CA *ōti-, AT ötüg “request, prayer”, ötün- “to pray” = Mo. öči- “to speak respectfully, to pray”, Kh. v̆čig “testimony in court”.

CA *titire-, Ch. čatre- “to tremble, to shiver with cold”, Chag. titrä- “to shake, to tremble” = Mo. čičire- id.

CA *ebti, Mo. ebčigün < *ebtigün “chest”, Kh. v̆wčū id. = Ma. ebči “rib, chest”, Tng. eptile “rib”, evte ~ epče “lung”, Barg. efče “lung”, L evetle ~ evutle ~ evutla “rib”, L evte “lung”.

B. THE PRIMARY *Č IN MONGOLIAN

The primary *č before *i (*ī) goes back to the Common Altaic *č. The most reliable criterion is presented by Turkic. While Turkic has *t* corresponding to the Mongolian secondary č, it has č which corresponds to the primary *č in Mongolian.

The developments of the Common Altaic *č are shown below.

Common Altaic	*č-	-*č-
Pre-Turkic	*č-	-*č-
Chuvash	ś-	-ś -śś-
Ancient Turkic	č-	-č-
Written Mongolian	č-	-č-
Manchu	č-	-č-

EXAMPLES OF *č-

CA *čika-, PT *čīqa-, AT čīq- "to come out", Uig., O, Tu., Tat. čīq- "to come out", Kaz. šīq- id.

CA *čibīn, O čīmīn "fly", Chag., ET, Km. čibīn id.

CA *čīma-, Tu. čīmīn- "to roll up the sleeves", Tat., Az., O čirma- < *čimra- "to wind, to roll up" = Mo. čīma- "to roll up the sleeves", Bur. šama- id.

CA *čibik, Tu., Uig., O, Tat. čibīq "rod".

CA *čīγ, Tat. čīq "damp, dew", KT čīj "wet", O, Kmd., Tu., Tat. čī "uncooked, raw", ET čik "dew", Tu., Chag. čīg "wet, damp" = Mo. čīgīg < *čīγīγ "dampness", Kh. čīgtē "damp".

CA *čīp, Ch. šâpan "furuncle", Tu., KT čīban id., Tel. čībīryan "pimples, pustules", Alt. čībirt id., Chag. čīpqa "furuncle", čībaī id. = Mo. čīgīqa < *čīβīqa "furuncle", Bur. šīxaŋ id., Mo. čībil "uncleanness, filth, sin, corruption, disgrace" > O čībil "filth", Bur. šebel "sin, immorality".

CA *čīqī, Chag., Tu. čīkin ~ čākin "the region between the neck and the scapulae, nape, shoulder", Tat. čīgä id., Tar., Kir. čäkä "temples" = MMo. čīqīn, Mo. čīkin, Bur. šexel "ears" = Ma. čīkin "edge".

CA *čīm-, O čīmčī- "to pinch", Khak. čīmžīla- id., Bash. səmət- id., Tu. čīmdik "pinching" = Mo. čīmki- "to pinch", Klm. čīmki- id.

EXAMPLES OF -*č-

CA *kučī-, Kir., Uig., Chag. quč- "to embrace", Tu. quča- id., O qučaq "armful" = Mo. qučī- "to cover", Bur. xuša- id.

CA *učīr, Chag., Tar. učur "significance, meaning", Chag. učur "time, epoch", Chag., Krm., Kar., Az., Tu. učuz "cheap", Tu. użuz id. (the original meaning probably was "opportune, favorable, lucky" and then "cheap" and "opportune time", "epoch") = Mo. učīr "chance, circumstance".

CA *učī, O, Shor, Krm., Chag. uč "end", O, Shor, Khak., Kir. učuq < *učīq "end of thread" = Mo. učīγ "the end of thread".

CA *tičī-, Tat. tič-, Kaz. tiš-, O čīč- "to defecate", Tu., Krm. sič- id., O čīčqaq "dispepsia" = Mo. čīči- < *tičī- "to have dispepsia".

CA *küči, AT, Chag., Uig., O, Tar., etc. küč "strength" = MMo. küčīn, Mo. küčīn, Kh. xučī < *küčīn id.

CA *eči, Ch. âš "inner, interior", Az., Cum., O, Kirg., Uig., Chag. ič "interior", ičīndä "in" (postposition) = Mo. ečīne "secretly, in absentia, discreetly, intimately".

C. THE SECONDARY ǰ IN MONGOLIAN

The secondary ǰ before **i* (**ĩ*) in initial position has originated from **d*. The latter has converged with **n*, **j*, and **ǰ* in Turkic. Consequently, these four consonants are represented by one consonant in Turkic, namely **j* and its later developments. There are numerous stems with **d-* but all of them have *j-* in Turkic. In Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, and Korean the initial **n*, **d*, **ǰ*, and **j* are well preserved.

Both in Mongolian and Manchu the initial **d* before **i* (**ĩ*) has developed into ǰ, thus converging with the primary **ǰ*.

The medial **d* is well preserved in all Altaic languages. It is represented by *ð* in Ancient Turkic (*t* in Yakut, *z* in Khakas, *j* in Chaghatai, Uzbek, Tatar, etc.), *r* in Chuvash, and *d* in Manchu-Tungus and Mongolian. It has developed into ǰ in both Mongolian and Manchu before **i* (**ĩ*).

The developments of Common Altaic **d* are shown in the following table.

Common Altaic	<i>*d-</i>	<i>-*d-</i>
Pre-Turkic	<i>*j-</i>	<i>-*d-</i>
Chuvash	<i>ś-</i>	<i>-r-</i>
Ancient Turkic	<i>j-</i>	<i>-ð-</i>
Written Mongolian ⁷	1. <i>d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>
	2. ǰ-	-ǰ-
Manchu ⁸	1. <i>d-</i>	<i>-d-</i> (- <i>t</i>)
	2. ǰ-	-ǰ-
Tungus	<i>d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>

EXAMPLES OF **d-* BEFORE VOWELS OTHER THAN **i* (**ĩ*)

Ma. *dalba* "side, the flat side, wing of a building", *dalbaki* "neighboring" = Mo. *dalbaya* "flat side, sail", *dalbayar* "flat", *dalbaji-* "to flatten" = Trk. *jalpaq* "flat".

Ma. *dara-* "to pursue, to chase, to be on the heels of someone", Tng. *daran* "row, by, nearby", L *daran* "by", *darandu* "at the side" = Mo. *daraya* "the following one", "immediately, instantly", Kh. *darā* id. = Trk. *jarīn* "the following day, tomorrow".

Tng. *dala-* "to lick, to pass the tongue over", L *dal-* id., Tng. *dalaža-*

⁷ *d-* and *-d-* before vowels other than **i* or **ĩ*; ǰ- and -ǰ- before **i* or **ĩ*.

⁸ *d-* and *-d-* before vowels other than **i* or **ĩ*. The development *-*d- > t* occurs on the boundary of the first and second syllable in words beginning with the strong stop **p > Ma. f*.

"to lick continuously" = Mo. *doluγa-* < **daluγa-* id., Bur. *dol'ō-*, Kh. *dolō-*, Klm. *dolā-* id. = Trk. *jala-* id.

Ma. *dali-* "to cover, to hide", *daliqu* "cover, wall", Tng. *dal-* "to cover", *dalit-* id. = Mo. *dalda* "secret, hidden, secretly", *dalda oro-* "to disappear, not to be seen any longer" = Trk. *jašin-* "to hide oneself".

Ma. *dara* "waist, back", *darama* < **daβarama* id., Tng. *darama* "waist", L *daram* "the lower part of the back" = Mo. *dayari* < **daβari* "back, sore on the back", Klm. *dārə* id. = Trk. *jabrīn* "scapula".

Tng. *daga* "near", *dagadu* "in the vicinity, nearby", *dagamā-* "to approach", *dagatil-* id., L *dālī* "in the vicinity" = Mo. *daya-* "to follow", Bur. *daγa-* id. = Trk. *jay-* "to approach", *jayuq* "near".

Ma. *delun* "mane", Tng. *dēlin* id. = Mo. *del* id., Kh. *del* id. = Trk. *jäl* id., Ch. *šilke* < **jēlkeḡ* id.

Ma. *delen* "udder", L *deḡa* id. = Mo. *deleḡ* id. = Trk. *jälin* id.

Ma. *deberen* "young bird", *debdere-* "to learn flying", *debsi-* "to move the wings", L *deḡül-* "to sweep, to drift, to ravage (storm)", L *deḡü* "wind" = Mo. *debi-* "to flap, to move the wings", *debigür* "fan" = Trk. *jelpüguč* "fan" (a cross between **jep-* < **debi-* and *jäl* "wind").

Tng. *deḡ-* "to fly", L *deḡ-* "to fly, to rise", Tng. *deḡrī* "the act of flying, flight", *deḡdeḡe-* "to rise" (durative), *deḡil-* "to fly into", Ma. *deje-* < **degi-* "to fly", *dekde-* id., *dekži-* "to rise", L *deḡel-* id., L *deḡī* "bird", Tng. *deḡte* "feathers", *deḡtilē* "wings", L *deḡtle* id., Ma. *detxe* "the big feathers of the wings" = Mo. *degde-* "to rise, to fly up", *degdegekeḡ* "a young bird just learning to fly", Mo. *degedü* "upper, above", *degeži* "the better (upper) part" (as opposed to what is at the bottom, i.e., residue) = Trk. *jäg* "good".

Ma. *dolčīn* < **dolkin* "wave, flash of water" = Mo. *dolgijan* "wave", Kh. *dolḡō* id., Bur. *dol'jōḡ* id. = Trk. *tolqīn* < Mongolian id.

Ma. *dejiži-* < **dögi-* (root **dö-*) "to burn", *dekžīn* "burning", L *durū-* "to set on fire, to lit a fire", *dureḡl-* "to catch fire", *dur-* < **dör-* "to blaze", *dureḡtle* "blast, fire, smell of something scorched" = Mo. *dör-* "to burn", Bur. Alar *dörö-* id., cf. Mo. *döle* "flame" (root **dö-*).

Tng. *dulī-* "to warm", *dulīže-* id. (imperfective, durative) = Mo. *dulayan* "warm", Kh. *dulāḡ* id. = Trk. *jilīγ* "warm".

Tng. *duluža-* "to plane, to make smooth" = Mo. *düjil-* ~ *dülü-* "to plane, to shave" = Trk. *jülü-* "to shave".

The consonant **d-* before **i* (**i*) remains *d* in Tungus but in Mongolian and Manchu it is represented by *ḡ*.

CA **dil*, Tng. *dil* "head", L *deḡl* id. = Mo. *žiluγa* < **dil-u-γa* "temples", Bur. *žolō* "sinciput" > Ma. *žolo* "cranium".

CA **dir-*, Tng. *dirgavu* “shamanist incantation” from *dirga-* “to chant” = Mo. *ǰirγa-* “to be happy, to be gay” = PT **jir*, Bar., Cum., Az. *jir* “song”, Chag. *jiraŋ* “singer”, Kaz. *ǰir* “song”.

The medial consonant **d* is well preserved in Turkic.

EXAMPLES OF *-*d*- BEFORE VOWELS OTHER THAN **i* (**i*)

CA **padak*, PT **hadak*, Ch. *ura* < **aḏak* “foot, leg”, Ya. *ataχ*, Tuva, Krg. *adaq*, Khak. *azaq*, Chag. *ajaq* id. = Mo. *aday* “end” = Ma. *fatan* “sole”, *fatχa* < **padaqaŋ* “sole of the foot”, L *hat* “foundation” = Ko. *padak* “bottom, sole”.

CA **tida-*, Ch. *čar-* < **tīd-* “to keep away, to prevent from doing”, AT *tīd-* id., Khak. *tīs-* < **tīz-* id. = Mo. *čida-* “to be able”.

CA **kudurka*, PT **kuduruk*, AT *quḏruq* “tail”, Ya. *kuturuk*, Khak. *χuzuruχ*, O *qujruq* id. — Mo. *quḏurya* “crupper (of a horse harness)”, Kh. *χudvrgv* id.

CA **nidurka*, Ya. *suturuk* “clenched fist”, Uig. *juḏruq* id. = Mo. *nidurya* id., Kh. *nudvrgv* id. = Ma. *nužan* < **nurgan* < **nidurgan*, Tng. *nurga* id.

CA **kadun*, AT *qaḏin* “the elder relatives of the wife”, O *qajīn* id., Khak. *χazīn* “relationship by marriage” = Mo. *qadum* “in-laws”, Kh. *χadom* id.

CA **ider*, Mo. *ider* “active, energetic, strong” = Tng. *eḏer* “young” = Uig., Chag. *ādiz* “high, great”.

CA **mede-*, Mo. *mede-* “to know”, Kh. *medə-* id. = L *meḏ-* “to notice”, *meṭū-* “to report”, *meṭūn* “information, news” (cf. Tng. *meḏeḡe* “sensation”, an old borrowing from Mongolian).

CA **boda*, AT *boḏ* “body, essence”, Tuva *bot* “body”, Khak. *pos* “self” (*pozīm* “myself”, *pozī* “himself”, etc.), O *boj* “stature, age; self” (cf. *bojī* “himself”), O, Tu. *boj* “stature, height, length” = Mo. *boda* “object, essence, matter”, Kh. *bodv mal* “big cattle”, Bur. *bodo* “big”, *bodo bejērē* “in propria persona, personally”, Kh. *bodvın* “essential, real, genuine, material” = Tng. *bodo* “the customary way of living”.

CA* *ed-*, AT, Uig. *äḏ* “property, ware”, Uig. *äḏgü* “good”, Tu. *ejī* “good” = Mo. *edege-* “to be cured, to recover from illness”, cf. Mo. *ed* “goods” < Uig.

CA **bedü-*, AT *bäḏük* “big”, Kmd. *pezik* “great, important”, Khak. *pözik* “high”, O *bijik* “big”, Tu. *büyük* id. = Mo. *büdügün* “thick, crude”, Kh., Bur. *budūn* id.

CA **beder*, AT *beḏiz* “pretty, beautiful, ornament, carvings, adornment” = Mo. *beder* ~ *bider* “stripe, line”, Kh. *bedər* id.

CA **padī-*, AT *ađin* "another", *ađir-* "to distinguish", Uz. *ajir-* "to separate", Uig. *adruq* "different" = Mo. *ažira-* "to notice, to distinguish, to discern" ("to separate from other objects") = G *pádi* "separated, apart", *pádila-* ~ *padili-* "to part, to separate", *pád'era* "wall, partition" = Ma. *fažilan* < **padiran* "wall" = Ko. *paži* "blind alley".

CA **budī-*, PT **budīq*, AT *bīdīq* "moustache", Ya. *bittik* id., O *mijīq* id. = Mo. *bužijī-* < **budīqī-* "to curl", *bužigir* < **bužīqīr* "curly, curled", Kh. *bužigir* id. = L *bodurukā* "curly, wavy hair, curl".

CA **kīdī-*, Ch. *χərri* "edge", AT *qīdīq*, Tuva *qīdīq* "edge" = Mo. *kižayar* < **qīžīyar* < **qīdīyar* "frontier, border", cf. Kh. *χizālvj* "young horse which has changed its eyeteeth" ("edge teeth").

CA **kad-*, PT **qadyu*, Uig. *qadyu* "sorrow", Cum., Kaz., Tat. *qajyi* id. = Mo. *qaža-* < **qaži-* < **qadi-* "to bite", Bur. *χažūr* < **qažīyur* < **qadiyur* "scythe", cf. Mo. *qadu-* < *qad-u-* "to mow", *qad-u-γur* "sickle, scythe", cf. Mo. *qadqu-* < *qad-qu-* "to sting, puncture".

CA **ked-*, PT **ked-*, AT *kād-* "to put on (clothes)", "to dress", *kādgū* "garments", *kādim* id., Ya. *kāt-* "to put on", Khak. *kiz-* id., *kizir-* "to clothe someone", O *kij-* "to put on", *kijin-* "to dress" = Mo. *ked-üre-*, Bur. *χeder-* "to put on" (e.g., a robe), cf. Mo. *kežim* < **ked-i-m* "a cloth put under the saddle", Klm. *kižm* id. = Ko. *ketči* "straw bag or mat used as a cover for domestic animals".

CA **kudir*, Tng. *kudu* "salt-marsh" = Mo. *qužir* < **qudir* id., Kh. *χužir* id. = CT **qud-*, Alt. *qudān* "grey".

CA **gede*, AT *kādin* "behind", O *kijin* "rear, last, after" = Mo. *gedergū* "backwards", *gežige* < **gedige* "cue", Kh. *gezəgə* id. = Tng. *geđimuk* "occiput", *geťkēn* id.

CA **edin*, AT *iđi* "lord, master", Khak., Tuva *ā* "owner, master" = Mo. *ežen* < **ežin* < **edin* "master, lord", Bur. *ežej* < **ežin* id., Kh. *ežəj* id. = Tng. *ēđi* "husband".

CA **ugudi*, Tng. *ugdi* < Mongolian "feeding-bottle", cf. Mo. *uyūži* < **uyudi*, Bur. *ugža* id.

D. THE PRIMARY **ž* IN MONGOLIAN

While the secondary *ž* (< **d*) in Mongolian corresponds to *d* in Tungus, the primary **ž* is represented by *ž* in both language groups. In this respect the Turkic languages are of little help, because the initial **ž* has converged there with **d*, **n*, and **j*, while medial **ž* has converged with **j*.

Common Altaic	*ǰ-	*-ǰ-
Chuvash	ś-	-ǰ-
Ancient Turkic	j-	-ǰ-
Yakut	s-	-ǰ-
Written Mongolian	ǰ-	-ǰ-
Tungus	ǰ-	-ǰ-
Korean	č-	-ǰ- -č

EXAMPLES OF *ǰ- BEFORE VOWELS OTHER THAN *i (*i)

Ma. *ǰafa* "to seize", Tng. *ǰawa* "to catch", *ǰawūča* "to hold", *ǰa* "to retain, to detain" = Mo. *ǰaya* < *ǰaβa "to separate, to dismember" = AT, Tu. *jap* "to do, to make" = Ko. *čapta* "to take, catch".

Tng. *ǰānǰe* < *ǰālga "to catch fire, to flash up" = Mo. *ǰali* "flame, splendor", *ǰalin* id., Bur. *zal'ima* "lightning" = Ch. *śun* < *ja-n- "to burn", Tu. *ja-q* "to burn", AT, Tu. *jalīn* "flame".

Ma. *ǰalan* "sib, clan", Tng. *ǰalan* "joint", *ǰalum* "full", Ma. *ǰalum* id., *ǰalu* "to fill", *ǰalgija* "to fill, to replenish" = Mo. *ǰalya* "to continue, to prolong" = Tat., Bar. *jalja* "to add, to make longer".

Ma. *ǰaja* "a boat made of bark", Tng. *ǰaw* id., *ǰawkān* "a small boat" = Mo. *ǰabi* "a boat made of birch-bark", Bur. *zab'i* id.

Tng. *ǰeje* "edge of the knife, point of the knife", cf. Tng. *ǰeltume* "sharp", root *ǰe- = Mo. *ǰer* "weapon", *ǰeŋ* "arrow-head", Bur. *zeŋ* "arrow", Mo. *ǰebe* "arrow-head", *ǰebseg* "weapon", Mo. *ǰegün* "needle", Kh. *zu* id. = Bar. *ignä*, O *ijnä* < *yegnä "needle".

Ma. *ǰe* "to eat", Tng. *ǰew* ~ *ǰep* id., *ǰewǰe* "to live on", *ǰemū* "hunger", *ǰewgē* "food", L *ǰebēn* "the act of eating", *ǰeple* "food, dish", *ǰeb* "to eat" = Mo. *ǰeme*, Kh. *zemə* "carion, remnants of an animal devoured by wolves", *ǰegegen* "wolverine" (the primary meaning was "gluttonous, voracious", *Gulo luscus*), Bur. *zēgeŋ* id. = Ch. *śi* "to eat", Ya. *siä* id., Tu. *je* id.

Ma. *ǰebele* "left", Tng. *ǰegin* "left-handed", *ǰeginju* "left", *ǰeginjide* "left side", *ǰegintiki* "to the left", L *ǰegeneg* "left", *ǰegente* "left-handed", *ǰegenteḱi* "to the left" = Mo. *ǰegün* "left" (with the suffix *-gün* as *barayun* "right" etc. from *ǰe*).

Ma. *ǰuvari* "summer", Tng. *ǰuganī* id., *ǰugar* "summerly", *ǰugažāk* "summer dwelling", L *ǰuganī* "summerly", *ǰugarap* id., *ǰugasak* id., *ǰuganī* "summer", LO *ǰuvuni* "summer" = Mo. *ǰun* "summer", *ǰusa* "to spend the summer", *ǰusalaj* "summer dwelling", *ǰusay* "one-year old goat" = O *ǰuzaq* < Mongolian "one-year old goat".

Tng. *žugukte* ~ *žuwukte* "bee, wasp", *žugunuk* "wasp", L *ževet* "wasp" = Mo. *žögei*, Kh. *žögī* "bee".

Ma. *žuve-* < **žüge-* "to transport", Tng. *žugū-* "to deliver", *žugūže-* "to carry loads, to transport", *žuguvun* "caravan", L *žugut-* "to carry, to transport, to load", *žugūčin* "transport" = Mo. *žüge-* "to carry, to transport", Kh. *žā-* id. = AT, Tu., ET, *jü-k* "load, pack" = Ko. *čida* "to carry".

Ma. *žuge-* "to sacrifice", *žukte-* id., *žukten* "sacrifice" = Mo. *žükeli* "a sheep skin with the head and legs hung on a long pole as a shamanist offering to the spirits", Bur. *zuḡel'i* id.

L *žulber* "soft", LS *žolbexri* id. = Mo. *žügelen* "soft", Kh. *žālaŋ* id., *žālwar* "rather soft".

EXAMPLES OF *ž- BEFORE *i (*ī)

Mo. *žigde* "jujub" = Tng. *žikte* "berry", Barg. "blueberry" = Ch. *širla* < **jigōlāk* "berry".

MMo. *žirin* "two" (feminine), Mo. *žitüger* "the second wife", *žiči* "again" = Tng. *žūr* "two", *žūkte* ~ *žūkče* "both", Ma. *žuru* < **žirü* "pair", *žuve* "two".

A special case is Ma *n-* < **ž* before **i*. This development occurs before **r* closing the first syllable or belonging to the second syllable.

Mo. *žiru-* "to draw, to paint", Kh. *zurv-* id. = Ma. *niru-* id. = AT *jaz-* "to write", Ch. *šur-* id., cf. Hungarian *ír* < **jir-* "to write".

Mo. *žirmaqaḡ* "fry, young fish", *žirayaqai* id., Kh. *žarāχ"ē* id. = Ma. *nimaḡa* < **žimaḡa* < **žirmaqaḡ* "fish".

Mo. *žirγuyan* "six", Kh. *zurgāŋ*, Bur. Ekh. *jorgōŋ* id. = Tng. *hūngun*, Ma. *niŋgun* < **žinḡun* < **žirgu-n* id.

EXAMPLES OF *-ž-

Mo. *ižayur* "origin", MMo. *huža'ur* id., Bur. *uzūr* "root" = Ma. *fūžuri* "origin, root, basis".

Mo. *üžügür* "top", Kh. *užūr* id. = Ma. *užu* "head".

Bur. *nažar* < *nažir* "summer", Dagur *nažir* id. = Trk. *jaj* < **naži* "summer", Ch. *šu* id. = Ko. *nažu* "twilight", *naže* "in the daytime".

The examples for **ž* in medial position are not numerous, but even these few examples display a certain regularity of correspondence Mo. -ž- = -ž- in Manchu.

In conclusion it should be remarked, that some of the examples given

above might be ancient loan words taken by Tungus from Mongolian or vice versa.⁹ However, no matter whether they are loan words or forms inherited from Common Altaic they demonstrate that the primary and secondary affricates č and ǰ in Mongolian are clearly recognizable.¹⁰

⁹ Many examples were taken from G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch* (Helsinki, 1935), and G. J. Ramstedt, *Studies in Korean Etymology* = *MSFOu*, XCV (1949).

¹⁰ The primary *č and ₁*ǰ both at the beginning and in the middle of stems were thoroughly discussed by G. J. Ramstedt in his article "Zur mongolisch-türkischen Lautlehre", *Keleti Szemle*, XV, pp. 134 f.

ZWEI MONGOLISCHE XYLOGRAPHEN DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK

von

UDO POSCH

Seattle

Die Nationalbibliothek in Wien besitzt im ganzen nur drei Mongolica, eine bereits angezeigte kalmückische Handschrift¹ und zwei mongolische Xylographen, die im Handschriftenkatalog Nr. 31 auf Seite 51 gelistet sind. Sie tragen die Signatur *Xyl. Mong. 1* und *Xyl. Mong. 2*. Daneben findet man die Bemerkung: "Blockdruck aus der Mitte des achzehnten Jahrhunderts, bestehend aus 490 Blättern, davon sechs mit Bildern, in zwei Bänden. Anonymes Werk kanonischen Inhalts der Lamaisten."

Die Xylographen, im Format 60 mal 25 Zentimeter der Gesamtlänge und -breite nach, sind auf chinesischem Papier gedruckt und nach Art chinesischer Bücher sind deren Blätter lose übereinandergelegt. Jeder der beiden Xylographen wird von je zwei hölzernen Buchdeckeln mit Bändern zusammengehalten. Die Holzdeckel sind rot bemalt und zeigen den Titel in Lantschaschrift, die mittels roter Tinte geschrieben worden ist, an. Leider sind die Buchstaben teils abgesprungen, teils so schwer beschädigt, dass es unmöglich war, die Titel zu entziffern.

Die Blockdrucke sind folgendermassen gegliedert:

Xylograph 1, Kapitel I, *terigün* "Anfang", Blatt 3–69 (die ersten zwei Blätter fehlen).

Kapitel II, *qoyaduyar* "Zweites", Blatt 1–45.

Kapitel III, *yurbaduyar* "Drittes", Blatt 1–41.

Kapitel IV, *dörbedüger* "Viertes", Blatt 1–53.

Kapitel V, *tabuduyar* "Fünftes", Blatt 1–53.

Xylograph 2, Kapitel VI, *jiryuduyar* "Sechstes", Blatt 3–90, 100–117, 119–122. Blatt 1, 2 und 118 fehlen, statt 91–99 finden sich die Blattbezeichnungen doppelt, so dass ein Schreibfehler für einmal 91–99 vorliegt, wie aus einer Vergleichung des Textes der in Frage kommenden Seiten hervorgeht.

Kapitel VII, *doloduyar* "Siebentes", Blatt 1–45.

Kapitel VIII, *naimanduyar* "Achstes", Blatt 1–17.

Kapitel IX, *yisüdüger* "Neuntes", Blatt 1–14.

Kapitel X, *arbaduyar* "Zehntes", Blatt 1–21.

Kapitel XI, *arban nigedüger* "Elftes", Blatt 1–10.

Aus mir unbekannten, jedenfalls ziemlich mysteriösen Gründen, fehlen sowohl die ersten Blätter des ersten, als auch die ersten Blätter des zweiten Xylographen, weshalb es mir unmöglich ist, den Titel der beiden Werke zu geben. Die Titel der Einbanddeckel sind wie gesagt unleserlich, bis auf das letzte Wort, welches skr. *shatakī* gelesen werden kann und „hundert Abschnitte enthaltend“ bedeutet. Auch am Beginne anderer Kapitel scheint der Titel nicht auf. Desgleichen ergab eine Vergleichung der einzelnen Schlusspartieen ebenfalls keinen deutlichen Hinweis auf den Titel. Ausser den 484 Blättern, die den Text enthalten, gibt es noch sechs Blätter, die Bildwerke darstellen und deren Beschreibung hier folgen mag. Vier dieser Bildblätter sind an die Innenseite der roten Buchdeckel geklebt. Das erste Bildblatt des ersten Bandes an der Innenseite des oberen Deckels zeigt den Buddha Amitabha mit roter Körperfarbe. Er sitzt auf einem bunten Lotostron und hält die Almosenschale in den Händen. Sein Haupt ist von einem hellgrauen Nimbus, sowie einer blauen und braunen Doppelaureole umgeben. Ein Teil der rechten Bildhälfte fehlt übrigens. Vor Kapitel IV findet sich ein Bildblatt, welches zwei lamaistische Würdenträger, und zwar, wie aus der Beischrift hervorgeht, den Dalai Lama und den *Suruqči Kambo Gegen* „den glänzenden Lehrer und den gelehrten Abt“ darstellt, wobei letzterer das mongolische Gegenstück des tibetischen Panchen Rinpoche, der Oberlama von Taschilumpo, welcher die Reinkarnation des Buddha Amitabha ist.

Auf der Innenseite des unteren Einbanddeckels des ersten sowohl des zweiten Bandes befinden sich die gänzlich übereinstimmenden Darstellungen der vier Welthüter, die als Herrscher über eine Anzahl von Dämonenvölkern an allen Abhängen des Berges Sumeru thronen. Es sind dies, wie aus den tibetischen Beschreibungen hervorgeht, indem ich von links nach rechts beschreibe, erstens, *'p'yags-skyes-po-la-na-mo* „Verehrung dem Virūdhaka Welthüter des Südens“, zweitens *yul-'k'or-brungs-la-na-mo* „Verehrung dem Dhṛitarāshṭra Welthüter des Ostens“, drittens *mig-mi-bzang-la-na-mo* „Verehrung dem Virūpāksha Welthüter des Westens“, viertens und letztens *rnams-sras-la-na-mo* „Verehrung dem Vaiśravaṇa Welthüter des Nordens“.

Auf der Innenseite des oberen Buchdeckels des zweiten Xylographen

befindet sich die bildliche Darstellung des Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī mit vier Armen. Er hält Pfeil und Bogen mit zwei und ein Schwert mit einer dritten Hand. Er ist von gelber Hautfarbe, sitzt auf einem Lotosthron inmitten einer Baumlandschaft und buntfarbigen Wolken. Rechts vom Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī ist der Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi von blauer Hautfarbe, umgeben mit einer Flammenaureole, das Haar feuerfarben gesträubt. Sein Haupt ist mit einem Diadem, welches aus Menschenschädeln besteht, umgeben. Er trägt ein Tigerfell und um den Leib hat er Schlangen gebunden. Er tanzt auf einem Lotos und hält den Donnerkeil in der Hand. Die mongolische Beischrift nennt ihn *očirbani*.

Das Bildblatt, welches am unteren Einbanddeckel aufgeklebt ist, zeigt die *čayan dara eke* „die weisse Mutter Tara“. Sie hat sieben Augen und trägt ein goldbesticktes Kleid. Auf der Schulter ist eine Lotosblume. Rechts davon sieht man die *noγoyan dara eke* „die grüne Mutter Tara“ mit grüner Hautfarbe und sieben Augen, ebenfalls eine Lotosblume über der Schulter.

Es ist durchaus möglich, dass die Bildblätter ursprünglich nicht zu den beiden Xylographen gehört haben, denn der Schriftduktus zeigt abweichende Züge vom übrigen Kontext, dessen Besonderheit darin liegt, dass er keine diakritischen Zeichen beim *γ*, *n* und *š* aufweist.

Aus technischen Gründen stand mir der Blockdruck nur einen einzigen Tag während meines letzten Europaaufenthaltes zur Verfügung. Während dieser wenigen Stunden gelang es mir nicht die beiden Xylographen zu identifizieren. Gewisse Einzelheiten weisen jedoch darauf hin, dass es sich um ein kanonisches Werk aus dem Tanjur handelt, und zwar aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach um Dhāraṇī's.

Der Sinn dieses Artikels ist, europäische Mongolisten auf die Existenz der beiden Xylographen hinzuweisen, zur weiteren Arbeit daran anzuregen, um dadurch unser Bild von vorhandenen Blockdrucken in Europa zu vervollständigen.

Literatur: Siehe Akt Nr. 569 der Handschriftenabteilung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek vom 29.III.1948.

NEUERE VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE TIMURS UND SEINER NACHFOLGER

von

HANS ROBERT ROEMER

Mainz

Geoffrey Barraclough, der Nachfolger Arnold Toynbees auf dem Lehrstuhl für internationale Geschichte an der Universität London, hat in seinem kürzlich veröffentlichten Buch *History in a changing world* die Revision des gesamten Geschichtsstudiums als eine gebieterische Notwendigkeit bezeichnet und hervorgehoben, daß dabei den außereuropäischen Kraftfeldern ihr Platz in der Universalgeschichte zuzuweisen sei; gleichzeitig beklagte er, daß diese historischen Bereiche aber noch in viel zu geringem Maße erforscht seien.

Es besteht kein Zweifel, daß die Geschichte Timurs und seiner Nachfolger in diesem Zusammenhang Beachtung verdient. Ist doch die universalhistorische Bedeutung dieser Epoche, die anderthalb Jahrhundert hindurch entscheidenden Einfluß auf die Geschehnisse nicht nur Zentral- und Vorderasiens, sondern auch Europas ausgeübt hat, ganz unbestritten, selbst wenn man die langwährende Moghul-Herrschaft, ihre unmittelbare Fortsetzung im indischen Subkontinent, außer acht läßt, weil sie gewöhnlich als eine Sonderentwicklung in einem anderen Rahmen betrachtet wird. Aber auch das Kriterium unzureichender Erforschung trifft auf diesen Zeitabschnitt zu. Bis auf den heutigen Tag ist es nicht möglich, dem Universalhistoriker, der nicht zugleich Spezialforscher auf dem Gebiet der islamischen Geschichte ist, eine zuverlässige Darstellung der Timuridenzeit und ihrer außerordentlich wichtigen kulturellen Entwicklung zu empfehlen. Dabei gibt es für diese Zeit ebenso zahlreiche wie ergiebige Quellen verschiedener Art. Sie sind allerdings noch nicht genügend erforscht, und das ist der Grund dafür, daß eine berechtigten Ansprüchen standhaltende Geschichte dieser Epoche noch nicht geschrieben wurde.

Die ehrenvolle Einladung, mich mit einem Vortrag an diesem Kongreß zu beteiligen,* erhielt ich vor ganz kurzer Zeit und, wie ich gestehen muß, unvorbereitet. Allerdings erreichte sie mich mitten in der Beschäftigung mit den Quellen zur Geschichte der Timuriden. Was lag also in den wenigen Tagen, die mir zur Vorbereitung blieben, näher als ein Bericht gerade über diesen Gegenstand? Diese Wahl empfahl sich um so mehr, als ja in diesem Lande das Interesse an einer Epoche rege ist, die zu den glanzvollsten der türkischen Geschichte gehört. Ich gedenke mit einem Überblick über einige neuere Arbeiten anderer Autoren zu beginnen, von denen die einen noch unveröffentlicht sind, andere vielleicht weniger bekannt sein dürften, und werde dann von einer eigenen Arbeit sprechen, die ich in der nächsten Zeit vorzulegen hoffe. Zum Schluß möchte ich dann noch auf ein paar Desiderata zu sprechen kommen, die ich für vordringlich halte.

Dabei zwingt die gebotene zeitliche Begrenzung, nicht nur, wie bereits angedeutet, das Reich der Großmoghuln, sondern auch Arbeiten darstellenden Charakters zu der voraufgehenden Zeit außer acht zu lassen. Wir werden uns also nur mit solchen Veröffentlichungen befassen, die der unmittelbaren oder mittelbaren Erschließung historischer Quellen dienen. Diese Einschränkung werden uns unsere Zuhörer um so eher nachsehen, als gerade die wichtigsten darstellenden Arbeiten ja türkischen Gelehrten zu verdanken und Ihnen daher ohnehin bekannt sind.

I

Vor dreißig Jahren hat Wilhelm Barthold in der elften seiner *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, die gewiß manchem von Ihnen noch aus eigener Teilnahme in Erinnerung sein werden, die reiche historische Literatur und die im Zusammenhang damit stehenden wissenschaftliche Aufgaben besprochen, die zu Ausgang des 14. und im 15. Jahrhundert teilweise auf Anregung Timurs und seiner Nachfolger entstanden ist. Die Forschung hat in der Zwischenzeit nicht geruht, sondern eine ganze Anzahl von Textausgaben, Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen hervorgebracht.

Beginnen wir mit den großen, gewissermaßen klassischen Werken, so ist an erster Stelle der *Vorbericht über die Edition des Zafarnāma von Nizām Šāmī und der wichtigsten Teile der Geschichtswerke Ḥāfiẓ-i*

* Diese Arbeit ist ein Vortrag, der am 14. April 1956 auf dem 5. Türkischen Geschichtskongreß in Ankara gehalten wurde. Sie soll in türkischer Fassung in den Kongreßakten publiziert werden.

Abrū's (*Archiv Or.*, IV) zu erwähnen, den Felix Tauer auf Grund eingehender Beschäftigung mit den Handschriften 1932 erstattete. Dieser Ankündigung folgte zwei Jahre später eine kritische Ausgabe des kurzen Anhangs zu Nizām ad-Dīns Zafarnāma, den Ḥafīz-i Abrū geschrieben hat (*Archiv Or.*, VI); er wurde übrigens 1950 in Teheran nachgedruckt. Als Band I der Gesamtveröffentlichung jenes *Zafar-nama* brachte Tauer 1937 eine Textausgabe, deren türkische Übersetzung Necati Lugal zu verdanken ist. Inzwischen geht der lange erwartete Band II seiner Vollenendung entgegen. Wir haben die bereits fertiggestellten Bogen I bis 13 sowie die Fahnen fast des ganzen Restes gesehen. Der Band wird einen umfangreichen kritischen Apparat, detaillierte Indices und ein Glossar enthalten, also für das Studium des Textes von größtem Nutzen sein.

Von den vier Bänden, die Tauer aus dem Werk Ḥafīz-i Abrū herauszugeben gedachte, interessieren in unserem Zusammenhang der dritte und der vierte. Beide sollen dem *Zubdat at-tawārīḥ* entnommen werden, und zwar wird der eine die Geschichte Timurs bis zum Jahre 1392 enthalten, der andere diejenige Šāh Ruḥs bis 1426. Da die Vorarbeiten für den dritten Band nach der Aussage des Vorberichtes schon vor längerer Zeit zum Teil geleistet waren, wird man mit diesem Band wohl in nicht zu ferner Zeit rechnen können.

Ein nicht geringes Verdienst um die Quellen zur Timuridengeschichte hat Muhammad Šafī' erworben. Er begann 1933 damit, den zweiten, auf die Timuriden bezüglichen Band von 'Abd ar-Razzāq Samarqandīs *Maṭla'-i sa'dain wa maḡma'-i bahrain* fortsetzungsweise im *Oriental College Magazine*, einer Zeitschrift der Pandschab-Universität in Lahore, zu veröffentlichen. Das Werk erschien dann als Neudruck in zwei stattlichen Bänden, von denen der erste (II/1) 1941 und der zweite (II/2 und 3) 1949 herauskam. Zwar handelt es sich um einen Steindruck, doch ist dieser kaum weniger gut als ein Typendruck zu lesen. Der Text ist Seite für Seite mit einem kritischen Apparat versehen. Jeder Band enthält ein Glossar mit reichen Worterklärungen. Ein weiterer Band (II/4) soll ausführliche Indices enthalten.

Unter den Quellen für Timur und seine Herrschaft nimmt Ibn 'Arabšāhs Buch *'Aḡā'ib al-maḡdūr fi aḥbār Timūr* einen hervorragenden Platz ein. In Europa kannte man es seit der Veröffentlichung durch Jacob Golius im Jahre 1636. Es ist mehrfach in europäische Sprachen übersetzt worden, zuletzt vor zwanzig Jahren von J. H. Sanders ins Englische. Freilich war diese Übersetzung, an der Minorsky berechnigte Kritik geübt hat, nicht geeignet, die Diskussion über das Buch von neuem zu entfachen. Dazu kam es erst, als vor etlichen Jahren das Autograph der Autobiographie

Ibn Ḥaldūns gefunden wurde, ein Bericht, der die Vita des Historikers die man bis dahin nur bruchstückweise, nämlich bis zum Jahre 1395 aus dem *Kitāb al-ʿibar* kannte, bis wenige Monate vor dem Tode des Historikers (1406) fortführte. Zwei wichtige Publikationen, die kurz nacheinander erschienen, befassen sich mit dieser Autobiographie. Das eine, eine vorzügliche Textveröffentlichung unter dem Titel *at-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Ḥaldūn wa-riḥlatihī ġarban wa-šarqan*, wurde 1951 von Muḥammad ibn Tāwīt at-Ṭanġī in Kairo herausgegeben, das andere mit dem Titel *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane* 1952 von Walter B. J. Fischel. Das zuletzt genannte Buch kann man als ein Kabinettstück kluger Abwägung der Quellen bezeichnen. Sein Verfasser hat sich dafür ein besonders markantes Ereignis ausgewählt, nämlich den Bericht über das Zusammentreffen des Eroberers mit dem Historiker, das 1401 in Damaskus stattfand. Zwar hat İbrahim Kafesoğlu (*İsl. Ans.*, V, 700) mit Recht darauf hingewiesen, daß die Riḥla in manchen Punkten, die gegenüber der Glaubwürdigkeit Ibn ʿArabšāhs geäußerten Zweifel entkräftet. Fischels Studie zeigt aber, daß der erst 1435, also ein Menschenalter nach dem Ereignis, entstandene Bericht es an Tatsachentreue, Ausführlichkeit und Wahrheitsgehalt mit der Riḥla, den Angaben eines persönlich beteiligten und daher aus erster Quelle schöpfenden Schriftstellers, keineswegs aufnehmen kann. Was den Bericht über das historische Zusammentreffen angeht, so erweist sich Ibn ʿArabšāhs Darstellung nach den Worten Fischels als ein schwacher Widerhall der geschichtlichen Einzelheiten, in dem Dichtung und Wahrheit ineinanderfließen. Umso höher ist der Quellenwert der Lebensbeschreibung Ibn Ḥaldūns zu veranschlagen. Er erschüttert das Urteil Bartholds (*Turkistan*, 3 f.), Ibn Ḥaldūn habe für die Geschichte Zentralasiens kaum etwas zu bieten, was über Quellen wie Ibn al-Aṭīr hinausgehe.

Zu den klassischen Quellen darf man schließlich noch den Bericht rechnen, den Ruy González Clavijo über eine Gesandtschaftsreise hinterlassen hat, die er in den Jahren 1403 bis 1406 im Auftrag Heinrichs III. von Kastilien an den Hof Timurs führte. Francisco López Estrada hat 1943 in Madrid unter dem Titel *Embajada a Tamorlán, Estudio y edición de un manuscrito del siglo XV* dieses Werk neu ediert. Soweit wir haben feststellen können, ist diese Ausgabe bei den Orientalisten überhaupt nicht bekannt geworden, obwohl sie eine außerordentlich sorgfältige Rezension des Originaltextes bietet und daher Beachtung verdient. Allerdings ist der Herausgeber Hispanist, und seine Arbeit ist unter dem Gesichtswinkel der Hispanistik zu beurteilen. Der Orientalist wird die nun zur Verfügung stehende Textgrundlage zu schätzen wissen, während

er sich für die sachkundige Interpretation weiter an die bekannte englische Übersetzung Guy le Stranges in den *Broadway Travellers* halten wird.

Barthold hat sich wiederholt mit einer Chronik der frühen Timuridenzeit befaßt, die er zunächst *Anonymus Iskandar* nannte, später aber als das Werk des Muʿīn ad-Dīn Naṭanzī identifizierte. Von dieser Chronik waren bisher zwei Handschriften bekannt, eine im British Museum, die andere in der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris. Die beiden Handschriften stimmen freilich nicht genau miteinander überein, vielmehr handelt es sich um zwei verschiedene Bearbeitungen ein und desselben Werkes: Die in Paris vorliegende Fassung ist Šāh Ruḥ zugeeignet, die Londoner dagegen dem Prinzen Iskandar b. ʿUmar Šaiḥ. – Im Frühjahr 1954 zeigte mir der um die Wissenschaft verdiente Ḥāǧǧī Ḥusain Naḥǧuwānī in Tabrīz eine in seinem Besitz befindliche Handschrift mit dem Titel *Taʾrīḥ-i Wāsiṭī mašhūr ba-Ġaʿfarī, taʾlīf-i Ġaʿfarī*, von der er annahm, sie sei ein Unicum. Leider fehlte mir die Zeit, die Handschrift näher zu untersuchen. Da es sich um einen Kodex von schätzungsweise 500 Blatt handelt, konnte ich sie auch nicht vollständig photographieren. Immerhin stellte ich einen Mikrofilm der letzten vierzig Blatt her. Diesen zeigte ich kürzlich dem jungen französischen Historiker Jean Aubin, der darin einen Teil des *Muntaḥab at-tawārīḥ-i Muʿīnī* erkannte, und zwar der Iskandar gewidmeten Rezension. Jean Aubin hat gerade dieses Werk in den letzten Jahren von Grund auf studiert und seine wichtigsten Teile für eine kritische Edition vorbereitet. Diese Ausgabe wird zur Zeit in Teheran gedruckt. Ein größerer Teil des ziemlich umfangreichen Buches ist bereits fertiggestellt, so daß in nicht allzu langer Zeit auch das *Muntaḥab at-tawārīḥ-i Muʿīnī* leicht zugänglich sein wird.

Ich hatte zunächst vermutet, die soeben erwähnte Tabrīzer Handschrift könnte mit einem ganz anderen Werk identisch sein, nämlich mit der von Barthold im fünften Bande der *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk* behandelten Weltgeschichte *Tawārīḥ-i anbiyā u mulūk* des Ġaʿfarī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī, von der die Leningrader Öffentliche Bibliothek eine Handschrift besitzt. Ein Mikrofilm, den ich mir von dieser Handschrift beschaffte, mußte angesichts des mitgeteilten Sachverhalts natürlich die Haltlosigkeit dieser Vermutung erweisen. Immerhin stellte sich bei einer ersten Prüfung dieses Filmes aber heraus, daß die Bedeutung des Werkes wahrscheinlich über die Mitteilungen Bartholds in dem genannten Aufsatz, der ja auch in der Walther Hinz zu dankenden deutschen Übersetzung (ZDMG, 90) benutzt werden kann, hinausgeht. Das ist vielleicht dadurch zu erklären, daß der Artikel posthum erschienen ist, also

möglicherweise in einer Form, die der Autor selbst nicht als endgültig betrachtet hatte. Es dürfte sich also lohnen, die Leningrader Handschrift noch einmal auf ihren Quellenwert hin zu untersuchen. Dabei wäre auch noch zu ermitteln, in welchem Verhältnis sie zu der in Kalkutta befindlichen Handschrift einer allgemeinen Weltgeschichte steht, als deren Verfasser (Storey I, Nr. 116) Ġa'far b. Muḥammad Ḥusainī genannt wird. Storey (I, S. 1235) nimmt an, daß beide Handschriften das gleiche Werk enthielten. Dem steht aber seine eigene Angabe entgegen, wonach die in Kalkutta verwahrte Chronik bis 1414 reicht und 1417 geschrieben sein soll, während diejenige aus Leningrad erst bei den Ereignissen zwischen 1447 und 1452 abreißt. Gegenüber so viel unsicheren Faktoren scheint es mir auch nicht so ganz sicher, daß die Leningrader Chronik, wie Barthold annahm, mit dem von Mangīt Bābā Ġān b. Ḥudaiberdī zitierten *Ta'rīḥ-i Ġa'farī* identisch sei.

Die klassischen Quellen, mögen sie noch so wertvoll sein, haben manche Nachteile, nicht nur daß es meist Auftragsarbeiten oder doch einem bestimmten Herrscher gewidmete Niederschriften sind, die also von vorneherein tendenziöse Züge tragen. Gewöhnlich lassen sie den Forscher auch da im Stich, wo er sich über bestimmte kulturhistorische Sachverhalte, über den Staatsapparat, Einzelheiten der Verwaltung oder das wirtschaftliche Leben orientieren möchte. Hier helfen gelegentlich Lehrbücher weiter, wie das 1441 verfaßte *Šams as-siyāq* des 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qumī, genannt 'Alī Širāzī, aus dem Walther Hinz im Rahmen einer wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Studie über *Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen im 15. Jahrhundert* einen Abschnitt überstetzte (*Welt des Orients*, I).

Ein anderer Nachteil der offiziellen Chroniken besteht darin, daß sie die Ereignisse gewöhnlich einseitig aus der Perspektive des Hofes schildern, also den Verhältnissen der breiten Masse nur selten und, wenn überhaupt, dann nur in unzureichender Weise Beachtung schenken. Sie geben in der Regel keine Auskunft über die sozialen Verhältnisse. Stellt man die Frage, wie sich denn so wichtige Ereignisse wie die Einfälle der Mongolen und Türken, ihre Herrschaft und die unter dieser sich oft wiederholenden inneren Kämpfe auf das Volk auswirkten, so wird man in den Hofchroniken vergebens nach einer Antwort suchen. Sie ermöglichen allenfalls mehr oder weniger summarische Feststellungen wie diejenige, daß die Schi'a ihre politische Stoßkraft aus diesen Verhältnissen gewonnen habe. Damit ist aber das äußerst vielschichtige Problem keineswegs gelöst. Will man es entwirren, so bedarf es anderer Quellen, nämlich solcher, die nicht unter dem Einfluß des Hofes entstanden sind. Vielleicht enthalten die beiden uns bisher unzugänglichen Aufsätze, die A.N. Boldyrev

vor etwa zehn Jahren zu Zain ad-Dīn Wāṣifīs *Badā'i' al-waqā'i'* (in *Trudy otdela istorii kul'tury i isskustva vostoka*, I und II) geschrieben hat, brauchbare Hinweise.

Jedenfalls stehen dem Historiker der Timuridenzeit Quellen zur Verfügung, die fernab von den höfischen Zentren entstanden sind und mit Nutzen für die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse der breiten Masse der Bevölkerung herangezogen werden können. Es sind die hagiographischen Schriften und die Lokalchroniken, die häufig ebenfalls hagiographische Züge tragen. Zwar darf man von den Biographien der Heiligen, der Sayyids weniger historische Angaben im eigentlichen Sinne, erwarten. Wo sie überhaupt einfließen, ist Vorsicht am Platze, weil sie nicht selten entweder verzerrt oder ganz falsch sind. Um so wichtiger sind die Aufschlüsse über die psychologische Situation der Bevölkerung, die sich aus diesem Schrifttum gewinnen lassen. Sie zeigen, was das einfache Volk glaubte, was es dachte, was es zu leiden hatte und wo es die Rettung aus seinen Nöten sah. Wenn das historische Bild der Zeit seine echten Farben erhalten soll, ist das Studium derartiger Quellen unerlässlich. Es steckt allerdings noch in den Anfängen. Doch zeichnen sich bereits vielversprechende Ergebnisse ab.

Eine Schrift dieser Art mit dem Titel *Mazārāt-i Kirmān*, auch *Taẓkīrāt al-auliā-yi Mihrābī Kirmānī* genannt, ist 1952 auf Veranlassung von Sayyid Muḥammad Hāšimī und Ḥusain Kūhī Kirmānī in Teheran gedruckt worden. Das Büchlein ist zwar erst 1519 entstanden, hat aber für die Timuridenzeit noch den Wert einer selbständigen Quelle. Als Textgrundlage diente die einzig vorhandene Handschrift, vermutlich das Autograph.

Von größerer Bedeutung ist ein Sammelband *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shah Ni'matollāh Valī Kirmānī*, den der bereits genannte Jean Aubin als Band 7 der *Bibliothèque Iranienne* vorbereitet hat und der voraussichtlich noch in diesem Jahr erscheinen wird. Dieses dem 1431 verstorbenen Ordensgründer gewidmete Buch soll die folgenden Texte enthalten: (1) Die von 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Šīr Malik verfaßte Lebensbeschreibung (Storey I, 951 f.), (2) die Anfang des 10. Jahrhunderts H. von 'Abd ar-Razzāq Kirmānī verfaßte Lebensbeschreibung und (3) eine Neuauflage der *Sawāniḥ al-a'yām*, eines Auszuges aus dem *Ġāmi'-i Muṣīdī* (Storey I, 352 und 1061).

Jean Aubin ist bereits vor etwa Jahresfrist mit einer Textveröffentlichung hagiographischen Inhalts hervorgetreten, als er im zweiten Band der Teheraner Zeitschrift *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn* die Lebensbeschreibungen zweier Sayyids aus Bam publizierte, nämlich die Biographien Šams ad-Dīn

Ibrāhīms, eines Zeitgenossen Šāh Ni'matullāh Walīs, und seines 1455 hingerichteten Sohnes Ṭāhir ad-Dīn. Davon ist die erste anonym und nicht datiert, während die zweite zwischen 1465 und 1475 von Šams ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī al-Ġahrumī verfaßt wurde. Diese beiden Texte bilden die Grundlage einer eingehenden Studie Aubins, die zur Zeit für die Abhandlungen der Mainzer Akademie gedruckt wird. Nach einer Inhaltsangabe, die uns der Verfasser zur Verfügung gestellt hat, läßt sie sich mit knappen Worten folgendermaßen charakterisieren. Während die klassischen Quellen über die Geschichte Kirmāns unter den Timuriden nur unzulängliche Auskünfte geben, zeigen die hier behandelten Texte, daß die Provinz außerordentlich schweren Heimsuchungen ausgesetzt war, obwohl die Sayyids aus Bam sich wiederholt mit Erfolg für ihre Schonung einsetzten. Die arabischen Geographen beschreiben Bam als eine blühende Stadt, die ihren Wohlstand einem schwunghaften Textilhandel zu verdanken hatte. Im 15. Jahrhundert ist es aber nur noch ein Landstädtchen von vier- bis fünftausend Einwohnern. Das soziale und wirtschaftliche Leben leidet unter der allgemeinen Unsicherheit, die Mißtrauen und Haß erzeugt. Sayyid Ṭāhir ad-Dīn wird als ein wunderthätiger Heiliger geschildert, der mit einem Blick oder einem Wort seine Widersacher umzubringen vermag. Auffallend ist der Einfluß des Traumlebens auf die Wirklichkeit. In Traumerlebnissen zeigen sich warnende Vorzeichen und Symbole. Dennoch stehen die Sayyids mitten in der Wirklichkeit. Da der harte Zwang zur Wahrung ihrer Interessen sie mit dem sozialen Leben eng verbindet, begegnen sie der weltlichen Macht, die nicht in der Lage ist, die öffentliche Ordnung aufrechtzuerhalten, mit aller Vorsicht. Freilich haben in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts die theokratischen Ideen, denen man ein Menschenalter später begegnet, noch nicht Gestalt angenommen. Noch stehen der Rückbesinnung auf den Islam soziale Hindernisse im Wege. Aber die gescheiterten Hoffnungen auf die offizielle Einführung der Schi'a bilden allmählich die Grundlage für eine neue Entwicklung: Die Vereinigung der zeitlichen mit der geistlichen Macht, wie sie sich später in der ṣafawidischen Theokratie findet.

Wir beenden unseren Überblick über die zu unserer Kenntnis gelangten Quellenveröffentlichungen der letzten Zeit mit einem Hinweis auf die 1955 in Teheran erfolgte Neuauflage von Ḥōndamīrs *Ḥabīb as-siyar*. Nachdem schon 1946 'Abd al-Ḥusain Nawā'ī unter dem Titel *Riḡāl-i Ḥabīb as-siyar* die biographischen Angaben zusammengefaßt hatte, verfügen wir jetzt über eine vierbändige Neuauflage mit Registern, die Dabīr-i Siyāqī besorgt hat.

II

Wir wollen nun noch etwas näher auf ein Werk eingehen, mit dem wir uns in der letzten Zeit eingehend beschäftigt haben und dessen Drucklegung im Gange ist. Es ist eine Chronik, die Barthold an Hand eines im British Museum befindlichen Fragmentes untersucht und kurzerhand *Anonymus Šāh-Ruḥ* genannt hat. Er benutzte es für seinen Aufsatz über die Bestattung Timurs (*ZVO*, 33) und später für seine Abhandlung über Ulug Beg. Auch L.A. Zimin erwähnte es in der Einleitung zu seiner Ausgabe des *Rūznāmā-yi ġazawāt-i Hindūstān* von Ġiyāš ad-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (Petrograd, 1915). Obwohl es schon Ḥāġġī Ḥalīfa aufführt, ist es vor Barthold nicht von abendländischen Gelehrten benutzt worden. Übrigens scheint auch Ḥāġġī Ḥalīfa keine nähere Kenntnis des Buches gehabt zu haben, bezeichnet er es doch als eine Fortsetzung zu Šaraf ad-Dīn 'Alīs *Ẓafar-nāmā*, ein Irrtum, den Felix Tauer richtiggestellt hat. In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich nämlich um eine Fortsetzung zu Nizām ad-Dīn Šāmis *Ẓafar-nāmā*.

Nach Barthold hat sich Walther Hinz mit dem *Anonymus Šāh-Ruḥ* befaßt (*ZDMG*, 90). Seinem Aufsatz ist zu entnehmen, daß von dem Werk nicht nur das Barthold allein bekannte Londoner Fragment erhalten ist, sondern auch noch eine in der Istanbul'er Bibliothek des Lālā Isma'īl Efendi verwahrte, praktisch vollständige Handschrift, sowie ferner noch ein Bruchstück in der Fātiḥ-Bibliothek (Nr. 4305). Seine Vermutung, daß auch in der Aya Sofya zwei Handschriften davon vorhanden seien, hat sich nicht bestätigt, vielmehr enthalten die von ihm angeführten Handschriften (Nr. 3028 und 3029) das *Ẓafar-nāmā* Šaraf ad-Dīns. Alle Bemühungen, noch andere Abschriften der Chronik zu ermitteln, sind bisher ohne Ergebnis geblieben.

Hinz hat herausgefunden, daß das Werk in Wirklichkeit nicht anonym ist, sondern daß der Verfasser an mehreren Stellen des Textes seinen Namen Tāġ as-Salmānī nennt. Von diesem Manne ließ sich bislang nur das wenige feststellen, das er in seinem Buch über seine Person sagt. Wir erfahren daraus, daß er im Herbst 1397 aus Širaz an den Hof Timurs nach Samarqand gekommen sei und sich dort im höchsten Auftrag als Dichter betätigt habe. Auch beim Tode des Herrschers hielt er sich im Hoflager auf und verfaßte Trauergedichte. Später scheint er der Kanzlei Šāh Ruḥs angehört zu haben. Von diesem Fürsten erhielt er im September 1410 den Auftrag, eine Fortsetzung zum *Ẓafar-nāmā* Šāmis zu schreiben. Darüber hinaus findet sich noch im *Gulistān-i hunar*, einem Künstleralbum des Qāzi Aḥmad Qumī, das wir aus der russischen Übersetzung

Zachoders kennen und das Minorsky in einer englischen Bearbeitung vorzulegen gedenkt, eine kurze Notiz über einen Ḥōḡā Tāḡ as-Salmānī, einen Iṣfahāner, der als Erfinder der Ta'liq-Schrift zu betrachten sei. Vermutlich ist dieser Ḥōḡā mit unserem Autor identisch. Wenn das zutrifft, so läßt sich folgern, daß Tāḡ as-Salmānī zu seiner Zeit wohl ein bekannter Mann gewesen sei. Wie anders hätte Qāzī Aḥmad bei der Abfassung seines Albums im Jahre 1596/7, also etwa anderthalb Jahrhundert nach seinen Lebzeiten, noch von ihm Kenntnis gehabt?

Die Chronik selbst trägt keinen Titel. Doch ist auf Blatt 1a und den Vorsatzblättern der Londoner Handschrift von verschiedenen Händen *Šams al-ḥusn* vermerkt. Da diese Vermerke weder auf den Autor noch auf den Kopisten zurückgehen, können sie nicht als ein schlüssiger Beweis dafür angesehen werden, daß wir es wirklich mit dem Titel des Werkes zu tun haben. Da aber in der islamischen Literatur unseres Wissens ein anderes Buch mit diesem Titel nicht aufgetaucht ist und mithin nichts dafür spricht, es könne sich um eine Verwechslung handeln, wird man bis zum Beweise des Gegenteils annehmen dürfen, daß unsere Chronik, wenn vielleicht auch nicht von Anfang an, so doch wenigstens später zeitweise *Šams al-ḥusn* genannt wurde, und wir werden sie daher unter dieser Bezeichnung behandeln.

Wir haben das *Šams al-ḥusn* nach photographischen Wiedergaben der drei genannten Handschriften untersucht. Nur die Handschrift Lālā Isma'īl Efendi bietet einen einigermaßen vollständigen Text, der Londoner Kodex ein starkes Drittel, derjenige der Fātiḥ-Bibliothek gut zwei Drittel. Datiert ist nur die Handschrift Lālā Isma'īl Efendi. Sie stammt aus dem Jahre 1580. Der Kodex Fātiḥ ist offensichtlich eine verhältnismäßig junge Abschrift davon. Die Londoner Handschrift ist nach dem Schriftduktus dem 15. Jahrhundert zuzuweisen. Trotzdem weicht sie nicht allzusehr von derjenigen der Lālā Isma'īl Efendi-Bibliothek ab. Letztere soll als Faksimile-Druck publiziert werden, und zwar unter Beigabe eines Verzeichnisses der in den beiden andern Codices enthaltenen Varianten.

Die Chronik beginnt mit der im Herbst 1404 aus Anlaß der Rückkehr Timurs nach Samarqand veranstalteten Siegesfeier und reicht bis zum Frühjahr 1409, als Šāh Ruḥ die Nachricht von der Gefangennahme des Prinzen Ḥalīl erhielt. Sie umfaßt also nicht einmal ganz fünf Jahre. Die Ereignisse dieser Zeit werden auf 176 Blatt, die Seite zu 19 Zeilen, beschrieben. Danach müßte der Bericht ganz ungewöhnlich detailliert sein. Dieser Schluß ist trügerisch, denn der sachliche Gehalt des Werkes steht in keinem Verhältnis zu der aufgewandten Wortfülle. Zwar hatte der Autor, wie er selbst mitteilt, den Auftrag erhalten, sich eines einfachen

Stiles, bar weitschweifiger Vergleiche, zu befeißigen. Dennoch entfaltete er den ganzen Vorrat rhetorischer Kunstmittel, den die persische Kunstprosa seit Waṣṣāfs Zeiten bereithält. Das ist der Grund, weshalb wir auf einen Typendruck verzichteten. Aus demselben Grunde schien es aber auch unerläßlich, den Text durch eine deutsche Übersetzung bequem benutzbar zu machen. Natürlich durfte diese Übersetzung dem Text nicht Wort für Wort folgen; sonst wäre sie nicht weniger schwer verständlich als das Original. Wir haben uns vielmehr entschlossen, eine Paraphrase zu geben, die nur den sachlich belangvollen Inhalt des Textes wiedergibt, dagegen allen stilistischen Zierat des Originals beiseite läßt. In der Übersetzung wird durchgehend auf die Blätter des Originals verwiesen, so daß sich jede Stelle mühelos im Faksimile auffinden läßt. Sie ist ferner durch seitenweise beigegebene Anmerkungen kommentiert. Ausführliche Indices sollen die Benutzung des Buches erleichtern.

Hat man erst das dichte Gerank des Stilprunks durchdrungen, so erweist sich das *Šams al-ḥusn* als eine Quelle ersten Ranges für den behandelten Zeitabschnitt. Der Autor hat die Ereignisse aus nächster Nähe miterlebt, hatte aber auch noch in der Person Amīr Šāh Maliks, der in höchster militärischer Stellung an den dargestellten Ereignissen beteiligt war, einen zuverlässigen Berater, den er ausdrücklich als seinen Gewährsmann angibt. Schließlich dürften ihm die Akten der Kanzlei Šāh Ruḥs zugänglich gewesen sein, worauf die häufig im Wortlaut mitgeteilten Korrespondenzen hinweisen.

Unsere Chronik wurde, was Barthold festgestellt hat, von Šaraf ad-Dīn ‘Alī für sein *Zafar-nāmā* herangezogen. Die einzige vollwertige Parallelquelle ist das Werk Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrūs, und es wäre lohnend, seine Angaben mit denjenigen Tāğ as-Salmānīs zu vergleichen. Dieser Vergleich läßt sich aber erst durchführen, wenn uns der Text Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrūs zugänglich ist. Immerhin haben wir als Specimen davon ja schon seinen kurzen Anhang zum *Zafar-nāmā* des Niẓām ad-Dīn Šāmī. Außerdem kann man seine Angaben gewissermaßen im Spiegel des *Maṭla‘-i sa‘dain* betrachten, dessen Hauptquelle es ja für diese Zeit gewesen ist. Bei diesem Vergleich, der natürlich ein endgültiges Urteil noch nicht zuläßt, erweist sich das *Šams al-ḥusn* als eine selbständige Darstellung, die jedenfalls unabhängig von Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrūs ist. Beide Quellen ergänzen sich an manchen Stellen, doch bringen sie die Ereignisse nicht selten in einen verschiedenen Kausalzusammenhang.

III

Schon im ersten Teil unserer Ausführungen waren einige Hinweise auf wünschenswerte künftige Arbeiten enthalten. Wir wollen hier nun noch weitere Forschungsaufgaben erwähnen, die wir für wichtig halten.

An erste Stelle gehören die noch fehlenden Ausgaben bisher nur handschriftlich vorhandener Werke, darunter natürlich auch solche der späteren Timuridenzeit. Von den frühen erwähnten wir bereits die Arbeiten Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrūs und haben noch das *Taʿrīḥ-i Ḥairāt* des Amīr Faẓlullāh Mūsawī nachzutragen. Aber auch über das *Ẓafar-nāmā* Šaraf ad-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdīs sind noch einige Worte zu sagen. Gewiß, wir haben mit dem Druck der *Bibliotheca Indica* zwar keine kritische, immerhin doch eine brauchbare Ausgabe. Mag es zur Zeit auch noch wichtigere Aufgaben geben als eine Neuauflage dieses Werkes, so wird sie auf die Dauer doch nicht zu umgehen sein, allein schon weil die vorhandenen Exemplare, wenigstens die mir bekannten, dem Benutzer unter der Hand zu Staub zerfallen, wenn er beim Blättern nicht größte Vorsicht übt. Eine Aufgabe, die möglichst bald in Angriff genommen werden sollte, wäre die Herausgabe der *Taʿrīḥ-i Ğahangīr* genannten Einleitung, die ja in dem indischen Druck fehlt. Gleichzeitig damit könnten vielleicht Indices des Gesamtwerkes hergestellt und veröffentlicht werden, die jeder Benutzer des Werkes schmerzlich vermißt.

Die Erforschung der Timuridengeschichte läßt sich von derjenigen benachbarter politischer Gebilde nicht trennen. Jeder Fortschritt der hier erzielt wird, hat auch dort seinen Nutzen. Deshalb gehört auch die Erschließung der hier in Frage kommenden Quellenwerke zu den Desideraten der Timuridengeschichte. In diesem Zusammenhang ist gerade in der letzten Zeit erfolgreiche Arbeit geleistet worden. Wir erinnern nur an die Artikel zur Turkmenengeschichte, die in den letzten Jahren in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* erschienen sind sowie an die *Turkmenica* Vladimir Minorskys, worunter auf die Auszüge aus Qāẓī Aḥmad Ğaffārīs *Ğahānārā* und dem *Taʿrīḥ-i Quṭbšāhī* besonders hingewiesen sei, ferner auf die von Minorsky angekündigte Inhaltsangabe des *Taʿrīḥ-i Amīnī* von Faẓlullāh b. Rūzbihān. In diesen Zusammenhang gehört auch das *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyyā*, an dessen Erschließung der um die Turkmenengeschichte auch sonst verdiente Faruk Sümer arbeitet. Schließlich ist noch das *Taʿrīḥ al-Ğiyātī* zu erwähnen, dessen Bearbeitung wir selbst im Auge haben. Aber auch die hier nicht weiter zu behandelnden Timuriden Indiens haben Werke hervorgebracht, die für ihre zentralasiatischen Verwandten wichtig sind. Es sei nur an das *Bābur-nāmā* erinnert, dessen Reṣit Rahmeti

Arat zu dankende türkische Übersetzung dem Timuridenhistoriker eine willkommene Hilfe bedeutet.

Wir kommen damit auf eine bedeutsame Frage zu sprechen. Es sind die mongolischen und türkischen Termini, mit denen die Quellen nicht nur der Timuriden, sondern auch anderer orientalischer Reiche übersät sind. Sie enthalten nicht selten sprachliche Probleme, die selbst für den geschulten Historiker, wenn er nicht zugleich auch Sprachwissenschaftler ist, schwer oder gar nicht zu lösen sind. Hier liegt eine Aufgabe für die Altaisten. Rahmeti Arat hat in seinen Anmerkungen zur Übersetzung des *Bābur-nāmā* gezeigt, wie diese Aufgabe anzupacken ist. Wir hoffen auf den Altaisten, der auf dem angebahnten Weg weiterschreitet und das gesamte in den publizierten Quellen zur islamischen Geschichte Zentralasiens auftauchende altaische Sprachmaterial kritisch untersucht. Eine derartige Arbeit wäre von größter Bedeutung für die Kultur- und Verfassungsgeschichte. Sie ließe sich durch die Einbeziehung der Personennamen noch erheblich erweitern.

Ein Überblick über historische Quellen, gleichviel welcher Zeit und welchen Ortes, wäre unvollständig, blieben darin die Urkunden unerwähnt. Die europäische Geschichtschreibung ist unvorstellbar ohne die Urkundenforschung. Dieselbe Auffassung ist aber auch schon in der Osmanistik und in der Geschichte der modernen Türkei Allgemeingut geworden. Für die Zeit Timurs und seiner Nachfolger liegen die Dinge noch im argen. Zwar gibt es einzelne Urkundenveröffentlichungen, wofür auf den *Arşiv kilavuzu* und die *Tarih vesikaları* verwiesen werden kann. Aber ihre Zahl ist verschwindend gering. Dennoch sollte die Suche fortgesetzt werden. Daß sie nicht aussichtslos ist, habe ich in meinem Vortrag vor dem 23. Internationalen Orientalistenkongreß in Cambridge näher ausgeführt, der inzwischen gedruckt worden ist (*ZDMG*, 104). Ich wiederhole an dieser Stelle meine Einladung zur Mitarbeit an der Sammlung des verstreuten Materials. Was bisher vorhanden ist, trägt nur wenig zur Dokumentierung der historischen Tatsachen bei. Es reicht auch noch keineswegs dazu aus, die Grundzüge einer Diplomatie Zentralasiens zu ermitteln. Wie interessante Aufschlüsse sich aber auch schon aus lückenhaftem Material ergeben können, zeigt eine Untersuchung Heribert Busses über turkmenische und şafawidische Urkunden, die gerade in Mainz ihrer Vollendung entgegengeht. Obwohl dabei timuridische Urkunden nicht behandelt werden, dürften diese Erkenntnisse mittelbar aber doch auch für die Kanzleien Zentralasiens von Bedeutung sein.

Freilich, eine der abendländischen oder der osmanischen Urkunde vergleichbare Rolle wird die zentralasiatische niemals spielen. Mögen in

Zukunft auch noch so schätzenswerte Funde getan werden, die größere Zahl der timuridischen Urkunden ist verloren und wird es bleiben. Um so wichtiger ist daher die Heranziehung von Urkundensurrogaten, wie sie in den Inšā-Werken, also in den islamischen Formularbüchern, und allenfalls in Kopialbüchern erhalten sind. Für die Timuridenzeit fließt diese Quelle besonders reich. Nur ist sie bisher wenig ausgeschöpft worden. Wir verfügen über die *Munša'āt* 'Alī Šīr Nawā'īs und über seine *Waqfiyyā*, sowie die 1952 von uns edierte Sammlung des Ḥōğā 'Abdallāh Marwārīd. Aber eine stattliche Zahl erstrangiger Werke harrt noch der Bearbeiter. Diesen kann freilich, was die Echtheit von Urkundenabschriften angeht, die mehrfach von Mükrimin Halil Yınanç ausgesprochene Mahnung zur Vorsicht nicht warm genug ans Herz gelegt werden.

Wenn ich zum Schluß den Inhalt meiner Ausführungen auf eine kurze Formel bringen darf, so glaube ich gezeigt zu haben, daß in den drei Jahrzehnten seit Bartholds Vorlesungen eine Reihe wichtiger Quellen zur Timuridengeschichte erschlossen worden ist, daß einige neue Veröffentlichungen in der nächsten Zeit zu erwarten sind und daß damit der Weg zu einer adäquaten Darstellung dieser wichtigen Epoche um ein ganzes Stück kürzer geworden ist, daß aber immer noch viel zu tun bleibt, zu tun an wissenschaftlicher Arbeit freilich, die des Schweißes der Edlen wert ist.

REVIEWS

Friedrich Weller, *Die Fragmente der Jātakamālā in der Turfansammlung der Berliner Akademie* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 24). Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1955. 56 pp., III plates. DM 14.—.

This publication gives a detailed account of seventeen manuscript fragments in the Turfan collection of the "Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften" in Berlin, which Mrs. Else Lüders first found to contain parts of Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā. They constitute two groups, viz.

1) three fragments found in 1906 by Grünwedel during the third German Turfan expedition in the cave-temple complex near Murtuq. These are written in almost the same alphabet as the two Buddhacarita fragments recently published by Weller.¹ On that ground the editor thinks these Murtuq fragments might not be anterior to the 6th century A.D. They correspond to the following parts of the Jātakamālā in page and line of Kern's edition (HOS I): 11.1 – 12.5; 30.13 – 31.15; 89.2 – 89.25,

2) fourteen leaves originally belonging to one MS and discovered in 1905 by von le Coq during the second Turfan expedition near Toyoq in what may have been a monk's cell. The alphabet used in these manuscript remains (shown in photographs of some specimens at the end of the book) is the same as that of the second group of Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā fragments,² which belonged to the same MS. These Toyoq fragments might therefore not be older than the 9th century. They contain the following parts of Kern's edition: 72.13 – 73.13; 114.8 – 115.6; 126.1 – 126.20; 149.21 – 150.19; 153.21 – 154.12; 154.17 – 155.9; 155.13 – 155.21; 176.13 – 177.8; 186.15 – 187.10; 187.13 – 188.9; 209.13 – 210.7; 211.14 – 212.5; 230.21 – 231.21; 239.3 – 239.23.

Prof. Weller has given the full text of the fragments, supplying the lacunae from the corresponding passages in Kern's edition. A transcript which Mrs. Lüders made of all these fragments is quoted wherever it differs from what the editor reads and the text is completed from it in those places where the manuscript suffered damage afterwards.

However, Prof. Weller has not contented himself with thus making these fragments known. The text is preceded by an introduction in which obvious scribal errors and peculiarities of interpunction, orthography, and sandhi are systematically grouped. The variants offered by the fragments are compared with Kern's reading and the Tibetan translation. In 20 cases it appears impossible to prefer the one reading to the other; in 23 Kern's reading is obviously the best; in 8 the fragments have a better reading than Kern. Prof. Weller's opinion on this matter is likely to meet with general consensus.

The publication is prepared with meticulous care, and typographical errors are extremely few and immaterial; only one perhaps deserves correction: p. 47, fragm. XIV, V 4 read *sam(u)cch(r)itu*.

Groningen

J. Ensink

¹ *Zwei zentralasiatische Fragmente des Buddhacarita* (Abh. der Sächs. Akad. der Wissensch., phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. 46, Heft 4) (Berlin, 1953). With photographic reproductions.

² *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, herausgeg. von Heinrich Lüders (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft II) (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 194 ff.

C. Ž. Žamcarano, *The Mongol Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century*, translated by Rudolf Loewenthal. Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Band 3. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1955. X + 93 pages.

Partly owing to the legislative reforms of Speranski, and partly owing to the presence of intellectual Decembrist exiles in Siberia, the Buriats were the first Mongols to come under the liberating influence of Western thought. As the sons of well-to-do Buriat families began to attend Russian schools, and some even the universities, an intellectual *avant-garde* sprang up at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th.¹ A leading figure among this newer Buriat *intelligentsiya* was the young scholar Tsyben Zh. Zhamtsarano, who quickly won a name for himself as an investigator and recorder of Mongolian folklore and dialects. In 1936, he climaxed his scholarly career (although he did not know it at the time) with the publication by the Russian Academy of Sciences of his great work *Монгольские летописи XVII века*, "Mongolian Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century". In it he described a dozen copies of five important Mongolian historical works, giving variant readings in the different manuscripts and xylographs. He planned to continue studying the works in the Mongolian Collection of the Leningrad Oriental Institute, but in 1937, he was arrested in Leningrad (he had been exiled from Mongolia in 1932 owing to his political views and work), and never heard of again.

Although a thousand copies of this work were printed, only a few managed to reach Western scholars or libraries; the remainder of the copies presumably was destroyed after Zhamtsarano's arrest. As this important book has therefore remained more or less inaccessible, it is cause for rejoicing among Mongolists that Dr. Loewenthal has undertaken the difficult task of translating this work into English and thus making it generally available. The German Mongolist, Dr. Walther Heissig, in his capacity as an editor of the series *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, has even increased its value by adding supplementary data to bring the translation completely up to date.

In general, the translation is satisfactory and useable, in that it conveys the general meaning of the text, but it is with regret that I must state that the translation *per se* cannot be considered a finished product. It bristles with a host of major and minor inaccuracies; the style is laden with "translatorese"; there are some small omissions from the text; and it is not completely consistent internally. With respect to the use to which the book will be put, the translation may be considered well-done and of great value, but from the standpoint of a translation, it is more like a first draft still lacking polish and needing a careful revision with attention to detail. The translation was admittedly a very difficult one to make, and one which few persons would care to undertake. It inclines closely toward a literal interpretation, whereas had it been prepared by one better acquainted with the subject matter, a much freer style could have been employed (cf. p. viii: "the subject matter is outside of my special field."). One can appreciate the labor that has gone into preparing this work under such unusual and trying conditions.

While I shall not quibble about precious points, the following examples seem to me to be among the more egregious errors in translation. In defense of the translator and reviewer alike, it must be remembered that these phrases are removed from their proper context.

¹ An excellent picture of this movement and its leading figures is given in the forthcoming biography of Zhamtsarano by Robert A. Rupen. See also Rupen, "The Buriat Intelligentsia" in *Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. XV (May, 1956), pp. 383 - 398.

Page	Original	Translation	Reviewer
1 (1. 22)	Когда настоящая работа была уже сверстана,	After the completion of the present study,	When this work had already been set in page-proof
2 (1. 12)	да будет . . .	— yes, may the . . .	let the . . .
2 (note 4)	Хивинского хана	the man of Khiva	the Khan of Khiva
5 (1. 6)	обряды	customs	rites (p. 51 has "rites")
6 (1. 15)	громадная литература	A powerful . . . literature	An immense (or "an extensive") literature
6 (1. 17)	вся сила и возможность языкового богатства монголов всех наречий	the whole strength and wealth of all the Mongol dialects	the entire strength and potential of linguistic resources of Mongols of all dialects
6 (1. 28)	Принадлежность . . . к определенной эпохе	belong definitely to the period of	belong to a definite period of
6 (1. 35)	Собственно говоря,	Generally speaking	Properly speaking
8 (1. 14)	часто	recently	frequently, often
27 (last line)	(см. далее описание Ms. A).	(cf. further description of MS. A)	(Cf. <i>infra</i> , the description of MS. A)
37 (1. 27)	обстоятельства времени	time circumstances	adverbs of time
40 (1. 30)	одной знатой монгольской семьи	of a well known Mongol family	of a Mongolian noble family
53 (1. 21)	главнейшими моментами	the vital moments	the most important features
57 (1. 24)	И мы, лишь анализируя текст, можем установить,	We can only ascertain by analyzing the text	We can establish, merely by analyzing the text
68 (1. 15)	пленил	captivated [<i>sic</i> !]	captured
68 (1. 42)	вводный	inserted	introductory
73 (1. 17)	многоточием	with undulating lines	with a line of dots (or "with an ellipsis", <i>i. e.</i> , "...")
73 (1. 37)	любопытнейший	interesting	most curious
77 (1. 4)	Мы уверены,	It is almost certain	I (lit. "we") am confident
85 (1. 17)	Да ведаст	Yes, may the . . . be known!	Let the . . . be known

I would suggest, furthermore, a few improvements in the translations of certain words, *e.g.*, p. 4 *et passim*, издаться, изданный, are not always "to be edited, edited by" but usually "to be published, published by"; p. 1 *et passim*, использовать is not always "consult" but "use, make use of"; означает on p. 7 *et passim* is not always "indicates" but often "denotes"; pp. 4, 6 *et passim*, рассказы is always translated as "narrations, narratives", when often "tales, stories" would be better; *etc.*

One mark of a good translation is that it does not read like a translation. A translator is certainly at liberty to rearrange completely if need be the elements of a sentence to suit the exigencies of the new language. The translation under review, however, suffers from a general stylistic deficiency in idiom which is readily apparent to well-educated native speakers of English. Nevertheless, the translation contains a good

choice of words and a vocabulary of wide range. While these minor points of expression are of course inconsequential in comparison to the value of the appearance of the book as a whole, careful editorial supervision by a qualified native speaker would have eliminated stylistic faults and technical inconsistencies. In particular, I would comment upon the general misuse of the definite and indefinite articles, the excessive use of the expletive "there", the over-use of the passive, the unnecessary impersonalizing of sentences, the placement of adverbs and the use of the progressive tense. Some specific and typical examples follow.

Page	Translation	Reviewer
2	We possess books which are written in the Mongol language	We have books written in Mongolian
3	The search for the monuments of the indigenous history	The search for monuments of indigenous history
3	who are specializing on scientific... activities	who specialize in scientific... activities
45	<i>A Feast of the Youth</i>	<i>The Feast of Youth</i>
11	What would be more accurate:	Which would be more accurate:
33	In MS. B, II, 19, it has actually been written down:	MS. B, II, 19, actually writes:
34	In Schm. <i>impr.</i> , 106, has been daringly corrected the word <i>kekül</i> ...	Schmidt's edition, p. 106, boldly corrects the word <i>kekül</i> ...
35	There exists, as a supplement to MS. B, a narration in MS. D about...	MS. D has, as a supplement to MS. B, a very brief story about...
35f.	MS. B is spoiled to such an extent, because of the poor quality of the paper and because of frequent use, that it is difficult to turn over the leaves and, at the least inadvertence, pieces are torn off. Owing to its bad state, this copy is unsuitable [p. 36] as a basis for a new edition and translation, because there exist better copies...	MS. B, because of the poor quality of its paper and frequent use, is spoiled so badly that it is difficult to turn the leaves over, and at the least carelessness, pieces tear off. Because of its condition, this copy cannot be used as the basis for a new edition and translation. There are better copies...
68	The expression used to describe the death of Yesügei bātur is one of idolization and adulation, a typical product of feudalism, — <i>tenggri boluγsan</i> ("he rests [in the Lord]"), which are altogether anachronistic for the twelfth century.	The death of Yisügei Bagatur is expressed with idolization and flattery, in a manner typical of a [highly] developed feudalism — <i>tengri boluγsan</i> ("He rests in the Lord ² "), which is quite unsuited to the twelfth century
86	Then there is a typical note about an evil design of Čaγadai against his father; but how on the way he met Očir sečen, who poisoned the prince and died together with him	Then there is a typical observation about how Čagatai had evil designs on his father, but was met on the way by Očir sečen, who gave poison to the prince and died with Čagatai
88	In it were also contained...	It also contained...

I pass over such trivia as errors and inconsistencies in punctuation, spelling, abbreviations, capitalization and so on.

There are instances of omission (the words omitted are in *italics*), e.g., p. 1, completed it in *the winter of* the fifth year or 1640; p. 3, Legden Qutuγtu qan *of the Chahars*; p. 8,

² This is Zhamtsaran's error—it is correctly translated as "He has become a god," or freely, "He went to Heaven."

usually lacking in most of the copies; p. 9, the murder of [their] brother Begter; p. 36 (1. 25) omits "It must be used with great care."; p. 59 (note 1), opposite each word, which I have supplied with a number; p. 65 (1. 25) the sentence "He cites part of the speech." has been omitted; on p. 72, note 4 is mis-placed and the following one is omitted in the translation.

A certain amount of inconsistency can also be observed, e.g., p. 3 translates уложение as (legal) "code", but p. 4, "legislation"; p. 3 translates поведания as "Traditions", while p. 4 translates it as "History" (both in the phrase "Secret History of the Mongols"); the word шифр is given on p. 7 as "no.", on p. 38, 43 *et passim* as "call-number" and on p. 38 (note 1) and p. 55 as "signature"; the word сподвижник is usually given as "collaborator" (p. 58 *et passim*), or even "companion" (pp. 73, 75), but best would be "follower" (p. 58).

The original 120-page length of the book (of which the equivalent of about 45 pages was devoted to short and long extracts in Mongolian script from the chronicles) has been reduced in the translated edition to about 88 pages by use of a smaller typeface and by transcribing the individual Mongolian words and shorter citations in Mongolian script into Latin letters (the two longest selections of 12 and 5 pages respectively, and some other passages, are retained in Mongolian script). While this compromise no doubt results in a lower cost for the book, it raises the vexing problem of correctly transcribing the Mongolian words. One does not transcribe Chinese characters in a haphazard fashion; why should one be less meticulous about accuracy when transcribing Mongolian? It is well-known that most xylographs and manuscripts fail to differentiate *č* and *j*, and omit the diacritical marks of *n* and *γ*. If one transliterates these literally (remembering the added complication that Mongolian script also does not differentiate *o/u*, *t/d*, *k/g*, etc.), sheer nonsense may result. For example, a phrase like *Temüčjin qačar-tur orqu unan kebtejü*, taken at face-value would mean "Temüjin, entering the cheek, fell and lay." If correctly transcribed, viz. *Temüjin γajar-tur uruγu unan kebtejü*, it is readily seen to mean "Temüjin fell down to the ground and lay [there]."³

The transcription of the book under review is the contribution of the editor, and is on the whole satisfactory and free from gross errors. There is, however, a certain amount of inconsistency in spellings, mostly where *o/u* or *ö/ü* in the second syllable is concerned.⁴ Some of these are: *nayiman*, p. 8 *et pass.* for *naiman*, p. 30 *et pass.*; *törü-*, p. 11 *et pass.*, for *törö-*, p. 52 *et pass.*; *doluγan*, p. 13, 64 *et pass.*, for *doloγan*, p. 35, 52 *et pass.*; p. 13 has both *oroγul-* and *oruγul-*; p. 41 has both *Qunggirad-un* and *qonggirad-un*; p. 60, 61, 63 *et pass.* have *ögüle-*, but p. 28, 66, 67 *et pass.* read *ügüle-*; and so on. A few typographical errors in the transcription were inevitable, e.g., p. 36, *köbegön* for *köbegün*; p. 38, *nirwan* for *nirvan*; p. 41, *nsulju* for *usulju*; p. 69, *tugri* for *tnгри*; and so on. These of course do not detract from the usefulness of the text at all.

The translated edition is also prefaced with a few remarks by Father A. Mostaert, and some brief notes about Zhamtsarano's life and major published works.⁵ A helpful index to names of persons and places has been added (pp. 89-93), but for some curious reason the page references are to the pages of the original edition (which have been supplied in brackets throughout the text).

In conclusion, it may be stated that Mongolists will welcome the appearance of this useful translation of Zhamtsarano's important work, even with these minor errors, and

³ It is correctly given on p. 69, line 2. This passage may be found in *Scripta Mongolica*, Vol. I, on p. 32, line 4.

⁴ See N. N. Poppe, "Remarks on the vocalism of the second syllable in Mongolian," in *HJAS* 14 : 189-207 (1951).

A bibliography of Zhamtsarano's writings by Robert A. Rupen will appear in *HJAS*, 1956.

will be grateful for this valuable addition to libraries. We can only express our sorrow that the great Zhamtsarano himself could not live to see his work appear in the Western world.

University of Washington, Seattle
February, 1956

John R. Krueger

Baymirza Hayit, *Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert*. Darmstadt, C. W. Leske Verlag, 1956. 406 pp.; 2-page map.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit, a native of the Fergana Valley, studied under V. V. Bartol'd and Fitrat, a Turkestani scholar. He held a cultural post in the Soviet administration until the outbreak of World War II. Eventually he went to Germany where he attended the University of Münster and obtained his Ph. D. degree in 1949.¹ Subsequently he received from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft a year's grant to complete the present work which forms volume one of the series, *Forschungen zur neuen Geschichte der Völker Osteuropas und Asiens*, edited by Professor Gerhard von Mende (formerly a German government expert on these regions), who has written authoritative publications on the Turkic-speaking peoples and who has sponsored the present work.

I should state at the outset that "Turkestan in the twentieth century" forms a solid and much needed handbook in the fields of history, ethnography, demography, administration, economics, religion, languages, and literatures of this area. It contains a wealth of information regarding its cultural and political life and personalities. The only work that approaches it in quality is the brilliantly written *Soviet empire: the Turks of Central Asia and Stalinism* (London, 1953), by Sir Olaf Caroe; the latter is, however, sketchy by comparison.

"Turkestan" is a somewhat misleading title, for this book actually deals with Western (Russian) Turkestan, the region including the present five Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kirgizistan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and the territory of the former Kalmuk ASSR. Eastern (Chinese) Turkestan, commonly known as Sinkiang, has been rigidly excluded, while the Caucasus and its Turkish peoples have been mentioned only incidentally, and in so far as events there exercised an influence on Soviet Turkestan.

The editor justly calls the volume a "small encyclopedia of Turkestan for the years 1917-50." The author has exhaustively utilized the rather extensive Soviet Russian literature as well as Turkish and Turkic sources. He has not only drawn on his personal experiences, but has also consulted exiled Turkestani leaders or their written reports.

The publishing house of C. W. Leske has to its credit two previous publications in the Central Asiatic field: *Der nationale Kampf der Krimtürken* (1952), by Edige Kirimal, and *Ostmongolische Reise*, by Walther Heissig. The present volume is especially handsome and the publisher is to be congratulated on his enterprise.

The book is divided into five chapters: Turkestan before 1917 (pp. 17-47); Turkestan from 1917 to 1924 (pp. 48-172); the Basmachi movement (pp. 173-214); the Sovietization of Turkestan (pp. 215-333); further Soviet efforts to secure control over Turkestan (pp. 334-378). These are followed by an extensive bibliography (pp. 379-385), which is much larger than might be assumed from the small number of pages because it is printed in small type; a list of abbreviations (pp. 386-387); lists of geographical names (pp. 388-394) and names of persons (pp. 395-406). A two-page map

¹ Title of unpublished dissertation: "Die nationalen Regierungen von Kokand (Choqand) und der Alasch Orda."

concludes the book. Other maps in the text are: "Turkestan in the years 1917-20" (p. 167) and "Turkestan after 1924" (p. 211).

The author's well balanced and objective account is thoroughly documented and is indispensable for any study of the field. The reviewer recommends it without reservations.

Georgetown University

Rudolf Loewenthal

Siegbert Hummel, *Geschichte der tibetischen Kunst*. Leipzig, 1953. Royal-8vo, viii & 123 pp., 124 plates, figures in the text, 3 colour-plates, and a map.

Siegbert Hummel, *Die lamaistische Kunst in der Umwelt von Tibet*. Leipzig, 1955. Royal-8vo, 149 pp., 110 plates, 24 figures in the text, 3 colour-plates, and a map.

During the last ten years Dr S. Hummel has written quite a number of contributions on special subjects in the field of Tibetan and Lamaistic art, and its manifold problems. In his two books, reviewed here very briefly, he has tried to give a more general survey of the subject, in which his own ideas are prevalent. In his "History of Tibetan art", he has tried to compose a study of the more general problems, but I regret to say that he has not fully achieved his aim. To a very large extent this is due to the subject itself; as the author has stipulated himself, the time has not yet come to write such a general work, just because too many problems remain to be elucidated. Moreover, circumstances prevented the author from consulting some recent and very valuable publications, like Tucci's *magnum opus*, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. Another objection I have is that, while some subjects and theories are discussed at length, some others of at least the same importance have been left out completely. As the author has given circumstantial account of his own studies and ideas, the book has become more or less a collection of stray notes on several problems in the domain of Tibetan art. So it may be useful to an expert to find some interesting theories, but it is in no way a general outline to be used by an interested but not fully initiated student of the difficult field of Tibetan art.

In his second book, Dr. Hummel's aim has not been on such a high level as his first. The material incorporated in it is often interesting, and the book contains important illustrations more the character of a compilation work, containing material facts with less speculative theories than the other book. But it is again the expert who will use it with profit, rather than the more or less interested student of the history of art.

Leiden

P. H. Pott

Madeleine Hallade, *Arts de l'Asie ancienne, thèmes et motifs*, III: *La Chine*. Paris, 1956.

As appears from the Introduction, Miss Hallade has restricted the sources from which she has drawn the material, themes, and motifs for her book, as she was obliged to use line drawings in her plates. This would be understandable with regard to painting, even if she could not do wholly without this source in "Le paysage, ses éléments", but it is to be regretted that she has also practically left out ceramics, which would have furnished quite some scope for "dessins au trait" and a wealth of themes and

motifs and their development. With regard to sculpture the blank faces of her plates mar the picture, the more so as the facial lines are of primary importance in Buddhist sculpture.

It may be put down to his subjective taste that this reviewer prefers Miss Hallade's text to her plates, but it is impossible to „contenter tout le monde et son père”, and when we consider the immensity of the field the author has set foot upon with this publication, there is little room for severe criticism and much for satisfaction, as it would have been impossible indeed within the confines of 86 pages to have “laissé deviner toute la beauté” etc. of Chinese art themes and motifs. With this restriction in mind Miss Hallade has certainly made a success of her intentions.

Leiden

T. Volker

Recent Publications

For Roman Jakobson

Essays on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday

*Compiled by Morris Halle, Horace G. Lunt, Hugh McLean, and
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Walther Heissig, Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der
Mongolen. Materialien zur mongolischen Literaturgeschichte, II.

Band 1—5 siehe Anzeige in CAJ Vol. I No. 2

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Geschichte der Mongolen

1956. ca. 250 Seiten, Leinen ca. DM 28.—

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Gedenkschrift Paul Kretschmer (2. Mai 1866 — 9. März 1956)

Herausgegeben von *Heinz Kronasser*

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Leinen DM 36.—

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